

FILE DESCRIPTION

BUREAU FILE

SUBJECT Weatherman

FILE NO. 100-439048

SECTION NO. 43

SERIALS 2537

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147
MAR 26 1969

W. L. K. R. A. I.

FBI

Date: 1/23/69

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (157-3643) (C)
SUBJECT: NATIONAL YOUTH ALLIANCE
INFORMATION CONCERNING
RM (ORGANIZATION)

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
CG FILE 100-40903
BU FILE 100-439048
IS - SDS

(OO: CHICAGO)

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of a letterhead memorandum dated and captioned as above. One copy each has been furnished to the United States Attorney, United States Secret Service, OSI, and NISO, all of Chicago, Illinois. One copy has been furnished to Region 1, 113th MI Group, Evanston, Illinois.

Chicago indicies do not contain any information concerning JOHN A. KORSGARD, KENNETH W. BENNETT, or JAMES (JIM) BENSFIELD.

67D

In view of political nature of NYA, Chicago is closing instant case but will be alert for any information. NYA plans to engage in any violent type activities against SDS.

3 - Bureau (Encl. 11) (RM) (1-157-413) HME/mmc (7)
Chicago (1-157-2541) (SUTTON)

ENCLOSURE

53 FEB 1 1969

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

NOT RECORDED

165 FEB 8 1969

AGENCY: ACSL, CTS, SEC, SEC SER

DEPT ID: CRD, CD, I, P, U

DATE: 1-23-69



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 157-3643

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Chicago, Illinois
January 23, 1969

NATIONAL YOUTH ALLIANCE
INFORMATION CONCERNING

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC
SOCIETY

A characterization of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) may be found in the attached appendix page.

A news article which appeared on page 12 of the "Chicago Sun-Times", published at Chicago, Illinois, on November 29, 1968, captioned, "Wallace's Youths On A New Tack", contained the following information.

"The Chicago area Youth for Wallace Organization plans to stay intact as a kind of New Right and will become part of the newly formed National Youth Alliance, (NYA).

"The group plans to begin a campaign in high schools and colleges against the use of narcotics by students." "We want to expose the fact that hundreds of young people are using drugs", said John A. Korsgaard, age 21, a leader of the NYA.

"The campus campaign also is set to combat the big recruitment drive in schools by SDS, the New Left oriented activist group.

"The Illinois head of NYA is Jim Bensfield, age 20, a student at Loyola University, Chicago, Illinois. Bensfield said the NYA will not have any ties with political parties. Although many of the Alliance members support the conservative philosophies of Barry Goldwater and William F. Buckley, alliance leaders will encourage members to back candidates of their own choosing."

A news article which appeared on page two, section one, of the Chicago Sunday "Tribune", published at Chicago, Illinois, on January 19, 1969, contained the following information.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ENCLOSURE

100-11-1011

RE: NATIONAL YOUTH ALLIANCE

adopted a resolution to use force, if necessary, to halt leftist takovers of campus buildings."

Source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on [REDACTED], that he attended the meeting of the NYA which was held at the Shorman House Hotel, Chicago, Illinois, on January 18, 1969. b2D

Source stated meeting was a Midwest Regional meeting of the NYA, which is a newly formed organization comprised primarily of college students, whose primary purpose is stated to be one of forming groups of students to actively resist activities of SDS or other "leftist-oriented groups" on college campuses throughout the United States.

Source advised there were approximately 60 individuals in attendance at the meeting on January 18, 1969, of which 20 were from the state of Illinois, and the remainder from various colleges throughout the United States.

Source advised F. Thomas Sutton, who is a well known Chicago attorney, who has been active in "extreme right activities" in the Chicago area, spoke for approximately 45 minutes. Source advised that Sutton, who in recent months has actively fought "open housing in Chicago's western suburbs" spoke on the evils of the use of drugs on college campuses throughout the United States. Sutton advised individuals in attendance at the NYA meeting, that organizations should be formed on every campus throughout the United States for the purpose of exposing the evils of the use of narcotics as well as serving as a "counter balance" to members of the SDS or other leftist-oriented groups. Source advised that members of the NYA should not hesitate to use physical force against members of the SDS if such force is necessary to prevent SDS or similarly oriented groups from seizing control of college facilities.

Source advised James Bensfield, white male, age 20 years, who is a student at Loyola University, Chicago, Illinois, and who identified himself as Chairman of the Illinois Branch of NYA, advised NYA is in the process of recruiting members on campuses throughout the Illinois area at the present time. Bensfield

RE: NATIONAL YOUTH ALLIANCE

stated that although most of the members of NYA formerly supported Wallace for President, NYA will not have any political affiliations but will use its energies to display opposition to SDS groups or other leftist organizations on college campuses.

Information set forth above has been furnished to the United States Attorney, United States Secret Service, Office of Special Investigations, Naval Investigative Service Office, all of Chicago, Illinois, and Region 1, 113th MI Group, Evanston, Illinois.

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anti-communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of July 24, 1968, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

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100-439048-45-150x

APR 24 1969

5/22/69

U

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048)

DATE: 2/4/69

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (100-40903)

SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC
SOCIETY — General
IS - SDS; SEDITION

Re Baltimore airtel and LHM to Bureau, 1/20/69,
copy to New York.

[REDACTED] is subject of the New York
Office and all information in Chicago files concerning
[REDACTED] has been furnished to New York previously.

- 3 - Bureau (RM)
2 - New York (RM)
 (1 - 100-148047) (SDS)
 (1 - 100- [REDACTED])
2 - Chicago
 (1 - 100-46346) [REDACTED]
LGR/CMS
(7)

REC 36

EX-113

FEB 11 1969

104 135
56 FEB 14 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

2/10/69

Airtel

1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
1 - [REDACTED]

b7c

To: SAC, Chicago (100-40903)

From: Director, FBI (100-439048)

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY -
IS - SDS

b7D

It is desired that you immediately ascertain through an appropriate source [REDACTED]

the past six months from Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) National Headquarters, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago. Insure that full security is assured in making this contact.

b7D

In connection with this review, it is desired that you advise of the [REDACTED]

It is also desired that this matter be handled within ten days from the date of this communication if at all possible. If this cannot be done, advise.

WNP:lvh
(5)

113

REC-125

100-439048-2540

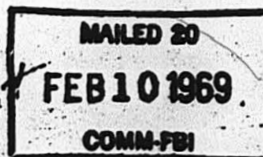
NOTE:

10 FEB 11 1969

SDS is the most militant and anarchistic group in the New Left movement today. Before considering special coverage on the national headquarters, it is believed advisable to have benefit of the information noted in this letter. Grand Jury proceedings to obtain these records not feasible due to sensitive nature of investigation.

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Mr. Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

62 FEB 18 1969



MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (100-439048)

DATE: 1/31/69

FROM : Legat, Tokyo (100-275) (RUC)

SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY - *general*
IS - SDS

Inasmuch as there is no inquiry outstanding in this territory relative to the above captioned organization, this case is being considered RUC.

(3) Bureau
(1 - Liaison Section)
1 - Tokyo
RVP:lw
(4)

REC 82

100-439048-2543

FEB 10 1969

INT. SEC.

FEB 13

253
598 FEB 17 1969

100-439048-2544
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100-439048-39-120X

APR 24 1969

5.2.11. 1/2

✓

100-439048-2546
CHANGED TO
100-450173-6X

APR 24 1969

3/10/69

C.

Date: 2-7-69

To: Director, FBI

(Bufile : 100-439000)

REC 4

Attention :

100-1500

(XXXXXXXXXX)

From: Legal Attache, Ottawa

Title

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC
SOCIETY - CANDER

(OO: CG)

Character

b1

Reference

St. Louis airtel 11-26-68.

Remarks:

CLASSIFIED BY 1482 8977/AB
2/13/78
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 1
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE
Para marked C & S
12

Dissemination

☐

May be made as received

☐

May be made as indicated by stamp on enclosure

Following offices would be interested in receiving copies of enclosures:

Chicago (100-40903)

St. Louis (100-19735)

Status with this office:

☒

RUC

☐

Pending

4 - Bureau (1 cc - Chicago;

St. Louis) (Enc. 21)

MLI:jhc

(4)

61 FEB 28 1969

305

Do not write in space below

100-439000-25	REC
13	16 FEB 1969
FOI-NS	THANKS

FBI

Date: 1/28/69

Transmit the following in _____

AIRTEL

(Type in plaintext or code)

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (100-40903) (P)

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
IS-SDS

ReBulet 1/17/69.

ReBulet instructed Chicago to obtain two copies of a pamphlet entitled "Destruction of the American University" reportedly prepared by SDS.

Chicago has contacted its SDS informants who are familiar with literature printed and distributed by SDS and they have advised they have no personal knowledge of the pamphlet as entitled above. These informants also advised that above captioned pamphlet does not appear on the current SDS literature list presently distributed by the SDS National Office.

The Bureau is requested to advise Chicago whether or not the above mentioned pamphlet is or has been publicly circulated by SDS or is, in fact, an actual SDS printed pamphlet. It is felt that if Chicago would send sources to the SDS National Office to inquire about this pamphlet, which has not received public distribution, this might possibly jeopardize the security of these SDS informants.

In view of the above, UACB, Chicago is holding in abeyance any attempts to secure this pamphlet.

Bishop

Bureau (RM)
Chicago

JAN 30 1969

Sent _____

M

Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

SAC, Chicago (100-40903)

2-13-69

Director, FBI (100-439048)

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
IS - SDS

ReBulet 1-17-69 and your airtel dated 1-28-69.

In view of your comments in referenced airtel, no further action need be taken in respect to your obtaining the alleged publication "Destruction of the American University" by SDS.

You should, however, alert all of your appropriate sources to the possible existence of such a pamphlet and, if it is determined there is one in existence, obtain two copies and send to the Bureau.

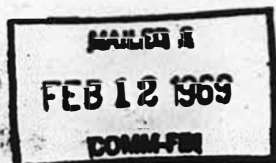
WNP:bad
(4)

NOTE:

Information was received from an individual employed with another Government agency that an individual known to him had reportedly seen the pamphlet "Destruction of the American University" which he thought was prepared by SDS. Chicago was instructed to obtain this pamphlet. Chicago has now advised that SDS informants familiar with literature printed and distributed by SDS have no knowledge of this pamphlet. It is not on the current SDS literature list.

REC-76

100-439048-25



19 FEB 18 1969

56 FEB 18 1969

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

100-41390418-2550

CHANGED TO

100-4139048-34-363x

APR 24 1968

Ham/SB

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE
CHICAGO

OFFICE OF ORIGIN
CHICAGO

DATE
2/7/69

INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
11/9/68 - 2/5/69

TITLE OF CASE

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

REPORT MADE BY

CHARACTER OF CASE

IS-SDS; SEDITION

SECRET

REFERENCE: Report of SA [redacted] dated 1/8/68 at Chicago.

- P* -

LEADS

ALBANY, BOSTON, CINCINNATI, CLEVELAND, DALLAS, DETROIT, HOUSTON, INDIANAPOLIS, LOS ANGELES, MILWAUKEE, MINNEAPOLIS, NEWARK, NEW YORK, OKLAHOMA CITY, OMAHA, PHILADELPHIA, SAN ANTONIO, SPRINGFIELD, SAN FRANCISCO, WASHINGTON FIELD-INFORMATION

Information copies are being furnished above offices inasmuch as either a SDS regional office is located in their division or there is considerable SDS activity.

CHICAGO

AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS. Will follow and report activities of SDS nationally in 90 days.

APPROVED

COPIES MAIL

Copies on 1 page

BU 100-439048
CG 100-40903

COPIES DESTROYED
33 OCT 19 1970

SPECIAL AGENT
IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES NOT FOR

100-439048-255
14
FEB 20 1969

ST-1
REC 1

Dissemination Record of Attached Report				
Agency	AST, ACST	2-3-69	2-5-69	2-10-69
Headquarters				
Field	2-13-69			
Sub Field	2/5			
By	WJL:ld			

56 FEB 27 1969

SECRET

Notations

CLASSIFIED BY 1487
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 1
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE
Date marked 5/2/88
INT/SEC

EXP-PROC

CG 100-40903

~~SECRET~~

Copies:

- 1 - Bureau (100-439048)(RM) (AMSD)
- 1 - 14-2941 SDS SEDITION
- 1 - Region I, 113th MI Group, Evanston (Via courier)
- 1 - NISO, Chicago (Via courier)
- 1 - OSI, Chicago (Via courier)
- 1 - INS, Chicago (Via courier)
- 1 - Albany (Info)(RM)
- 1 - Boston (100-35472)(Info)(RM)
- 1 - Cincinnati (Info)(RM)
- 1 - Cleveland (100-27031)(Info)(RM)
- 1 - Dallas (Info)(RM)
- 1 - Detroit (100-30957)(Info)(RM)
- 1 - Indianapolis (100-4604)(Info)(RM)
- 1 - Los Angeles (100-56519)(Info)(RM)
- 1 - New York (100-148047)(Info)(RM)
- 1 - Milwaukee (Info)(RM)
- 1 - Minneapolis (Info)(RM)
- 1 - Philadelphia (100-46556)(Info)(RM)
- 1 - Oklahoma City (100-7172)(Info)(RM)
- 1 - Omaha (Info)(RM)
- 1 - San Antonio (100-9808)(Info)(RM)
- 1 - San Francisco (100-52152)(Info)(RM)
- 1 - Springfield (Info)(RM)
- 1 - Washington Field (Info)(RM)
- 1 - Newark (Info)(RM)
- 1 - Houston (Info)(RM)
- 5 - Chicago (100-40903)

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

ADMINISTRATIVE

b7D This report is classified confidential because it contains information furnished by [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] who are sources of continuing value and the identification of these sources could possibly have an adverse effect on the internal security of the U.S.

The Bureau in Bulet of 9/22/65 instructed that two additional copies of this report be submitted for distribution by the Bureau to the Internal Revenue Service and further instructed in Bureau R/S of 7/18/68 that a total of ten copies of instant report be submitted. In addition, the Bureau in Buairtel of 4/26/66 instructed that one copy of this report be furnished to the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Chicago.

Information copies of this report are being furnished to Region I, 113th MIGroup, Evanston, Illinois; and NISO and OSI, Chicago, in view of their interest in SDS.

All individuals mentioned as SDS national officers and staff members are being considered for inclusion on the Security Index or are on the Security Index.

Individuals and organizations mentioned in this report concerning whom subversive characterizations are not included in Section V were checked through the indices of the Chicago Office. This check was negative or insufficient identifying data was available from which a subversive characterization could be constructed.

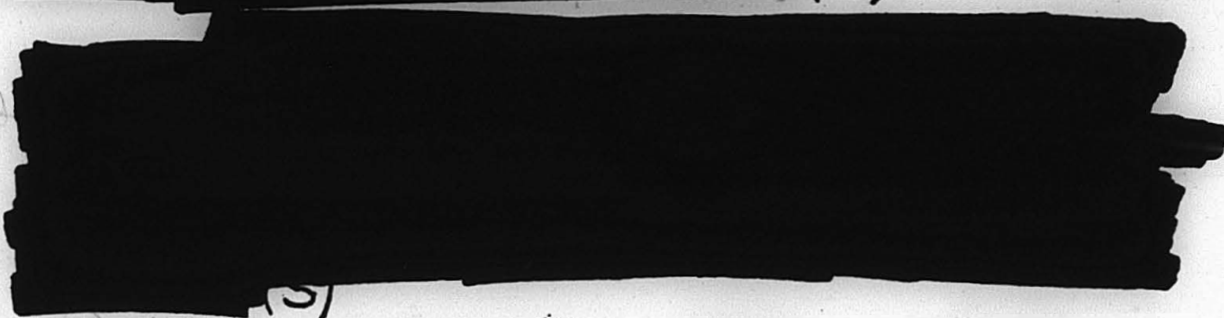
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~~SECRET~~

b1

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b1


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On 11/26/68 at 7:00 PM, the SDS commentary series was heard over radio station WBAI - FM, which was devoted to a discussion of the Movement for a Democratic Society (MDS), described as the SDS organization of the off-campus New Left. One of the speakers identified himself as one DAVID GURIN of the Urban Underground, a component group of MDS, stating that it is composed of architects and city planners.

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- C -
COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to: 1-NISO, Chicago (Via courier)
1-OSI, Chicago (Via courier)
1-Region I, 113th MI Group, Evanston, (Via courier)
1-INS, Chicago (Via courier)

Report of: SA [REDACTED] b7C
Date: 2/7/69

Office: CHICAGO

Field Office File #: 100-40903

Bureau File #: 100-439048

Title: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - SDS;
SEDITION

Synopsis: Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) maintains its National Offices in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois, and continues to use this office space for the operation of the Radical Education Center, the internal education arm of SDS. The National Organizing Committee (NOC) maintains offices at 4401 North Broadway, Chicago. NOC programs call for the ending of the draft; lowering of the voting age to 18; right of GIs to organize as well as radical organizing among the young and working people. NOC leaders set forth. Current SDS national officers are BERNARDINE DOHRN, Inter-organizational Secretary; FRED GORDON, Internal Education Secretary; and MIKE KLONSKY, National Secretary. SDS National Office Staff members set forth. SDS National Office made recent request for additional funds from its membership. [REDACTED] b7D

Information regarding SDS national membership set forth. During SDS National Council (NC) meeting held December, 1968, serious factional dispute occurred between Progressive Labor Party (PLP)-oriented faction which includes FRED GORDON and the MIKE KLONSKY-BERNARDINE DOHRN group. SDS recently announced a "week of solidarity with the Cuban people" and in 1/69 sent five delegates to Cuba to participate in the 10th anniversary of the Cuban Revolution. Communist Party USA direct interest in SDS and its leaders set forth. Socialist Workers Party interest in SDS also set forth.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Group VI

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

1482 9/11/03
CLASSIFIED BY 2113 JRY
EXEMPT FROM GDS
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE
para marked c otherwise u

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CG 100-40903

DETAILS: AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

The Socialist Workers Party and Young Communist League mentioned in this report have been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

The following organizations mentioned in this report which have not been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450 are characterized in the appendix section:

Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights

National Lawyers Guild

Progressive Labor Party

Southern Christian Educational Fund

Students for a Democratic Society

Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee

W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America

Young Socialist Alliance

I. ORGANIZATIONAL DATA

A. Location - Offices

1. National

The national office of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) is maintained in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

b1
[REDACTED] b7D

2. Regional

The "New Left Notes" ("NLN"), which is self-described in the masthead as being published weekly by SDS, in the issue dated January 22, 1969, listed the following SDS regional offices:

Chicago:	162 North Clinton Chicago, Illinois.
Michigan:	Post Office Box 625, Ann Arbor, Michigan.
New England:	125 Green Cambridge, Massachusetts.
New Jersey:	Box 376-C Newark, New Jersey.
New York City:	131 Prince New York, New York.
Niagara:	308 Stewart Avenue Ithaca, New York.
Philadelphia:	262 South 45th Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
Southern California:	Box 85396 Los Angeles, California.
Texas-Oklahoma:	Box 1941, Dallas, Texas.
Washington, D.C.:	3 Thomas Circle N.W. Washington, D.C.

3. Local

The local chapters of SDS in the Chicago area do not maintain their own offices but their activities are coordinated

out of the private residences of the respective SDS members, through the SDS national office or the Chicago Regional Office, 162 North Clinton.

b1

[REDACTED]

b7D

4. Miscellaneous

a. National Organizing Committee (NOC)

1. Headquarters

The NOC continues to maintain its main office at 4401 North Broadway, Chicago, and that individuals associated with NOC continue to refer to themselves as "JOIN" people, taking this term from the organizational name of the Join Community Union, which name was used by the NOC prior to their reorganization.

The NOC maintains a loose association with SDS, especially through MIKE JAMES; however, it is believed that in the foreseeable future the NOC will become an independent organization.

b1

[REDACTED]

b7D

2. Aims and Purposes

Source made available a document which reads as follows:

"The National Organizing Committee is committed to radical organizing among young and working people throughout the country. Our work goes on in neighborhoods, We are developing educational materials, tips to organizers_

"The National Organizing Committee is dedicated to radical organizing among young and working people throughout the country. We believe in the right and duty of concerned people to organizing wherever they are. We are in touch with many people organizing in many places, in many cities. In neighborhoods, factories, the army, and prisons, the struggle is beginning.

"Currently we are developing educational materials, tips to organizers and a film. We can help people get films and other materials. We publish a newspaper, The Firing Line. A group of us travel to other cities when we are contacted and asked to come.

"Our contacts are many. In a number of midwestern and border state cities we have have full time organizers. If you want to get in touch with other interested people in your city, with NOC organizers closest to you, or if we can help you in any other way, let us know. Our main office is located in Chicago at 4401 N. Broadway, 60640. The phone is Area code 312- 334-8040.

"Organize for justice, liberation and freedom."

bl

3. NOC Leaders

DOUG YOUNGLOOD, PEGGY TERRY and MIKE JAMES act in a leadership capacity in the NOC.

bl

4. NOC Program

Source made available a copy of a NOC leaflet entitled "Program of the NOC." This leaflet reads in part as follows:

"We stand for:

"1. Unity of all working people

"Working people everywhere and of every race have the same problems. They should work and fight together to solve these problems. When white, black and brown workers fight against each other, they are destroying their own strength and power and strengthening the power of the rich. The top 2 per cent of all American families control between two thirds and three quarters of all corporate wealth. To change this all working people must work and fight together. All we have is each other and our hope for a better future.

"2. Defense Against unjust courts

"There are no rights in juvenile courts---just privileges. All courts are run by the rich and serve them. Public defenders are paid by the city and, therefore, are not interested in winning the case for the defendants against the city. Bonds are also set by the city so people with money can buy their way out of going to jail.

"Justice should be decided by people from the defendant's community or background, to decide on his innocence or guilt.

"3. Police should serve and protect people--not property

"There are more policemen in lower class neighborhoods. But they aren't there to protect the people who live there. Rather, they are there to protect the property of the wealthier people who live outside the neighborhood.

"Police harass and brutalize people whose looks, views or actions they don't agree with. The actions of the police show that they are the greatest threat to law, order and justice in this country.

"The police must not be an armed force to control the community. Human rights should be more important than property rights. The police departments should be decentralized and controlled by members of the individual communities. Police must live in, and be part of, the neighborhoods where they work.

"4. Schools should meet the needs of young people

"Schools serve the interests of the rich, and teach history as they see it. There is no talk about stealing the land from the Indians, the role of oppressed groups (such as Black people, who were forced to come here as slaves), and the struggle of working people for decent lives.

"Instead of learning the truth, students are trained to fit the needs of business. This leads to unequal education. Children of the rich are taught to be the economic and political rulers of our country--while working class kids are channeled into lower income jobs, such as assembly workers, mechanics, waitresses. Even vocational training is lousy and has no guarantee of a good job.

"Besides these other problems, schools are overcrowded and run down in certain neighborhoods. Twice as much money is spent on kids in richer areas as in poor areas.

"Schools should teach the truth and provide an equal education. One of the ways to do this is to have the schools controlled by the students and the communities.

"5. Lower the voting age to 18

"Old enough to die--old enough to vote! Eighteen-year-olds must serve in the army but they have no say over the wars that they are fighting. If you have to fight in a war determined by the rulers of the country, you should be able to help decide who those rulers will be. Kentucky already has a voting age of 18.

"6. End the draft

"The draft forces working guys into the army and allows the rich to buy a deferment. Inside the army, the guys who got a chance to go to college get the higher paying desk jobs while we have the dirty and dangerous jobs.

"No one should be forced to serve in the army and there should be no class barriers within the army.

"7. GIs should have the right to organize

"Since GI's have the lowest paying, most dangerous jobs, they should have the right to organize. They should also have full health and life insurance benefits. Enlisted men should be able to elect their own officers. And amnesty should be given the more than 200,000 men who have gone AWOL in the last two years.

"8. Bring the troops home and give them jobs that will solve the problems here instead of fighting people around the world.

"Most guys in the army are poor and working class. They are made to fight against people like themselves in Vietnam and other countries. In time of war, businessmen increase their profits while we pay for the wars with our taxes and our lives. In the last few years, companies with defense contracts have increased their profits by 50 per cent.

"Besides fighting dirty wars, the pay in the army is way too low. Guys should have decent paying jobs helping to make America a better place to live.

'9. Tax the corporations--not the working people

"The government is mainly controlled by the large corporations and works for their benefit. The working people support a government that doesn't represent or help them. For example, General Motors can give a car away and write it off as a tax deduction--but a GM employee has to pay taxes on a car he buys.

"Working people pay an unfair proportion of income taxes, sales taxes, property taxes, etc. For example, 20 major oil companies earn five billion dollars a year, but only pay 5 per cent of it in taxes. A person who makes five thousand dollars a year pays 41 per cent of his income in taxes.

"The corporations could and should pay all of the taxes.

"Corporation profits have risen by one third in the past! 2 years, while the rise in wages has been much less. How much have your wages risen?

"In order to have better wages, profits should go to those who do the work."

"10. End food and credit robbery! Free medical care for everyone.

"Food is necessary to live on and inexpensive to produce. Food prices are high (they rise about 6 per cent every year) because corporate farmers and supermarket chains (Kroger, A & P, and Safeway) make large profits off food.

"The necessities of life--like food--should be produced and sold at minimum cost, not for profit.

"Credit, like food, is used by bankers and loan sharks to make large profits. Say you decide to buy a car. It costs the company about \$750 to build it, but they sell it to you for \$2500. You probably have to buy it on credit

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and have to pay 12 per cent interest on top of that. So you end up paying the profits of GM, the car agency, the salesman and the loan company. How long does it take the average worker to earn the \$2500 plus interest he pays out?

"Credit should help people get what they want--not be a way for the people who already have money to make more off of those who need it.

"The opportunity to become a doctor is available to only a small group of people. Therefore, there aren't enough doctors to give decent medical care to everyone. As the richest nation in the world, the U.S. should have the lowest infant mortality rate--but we are 11th in the world. On top of that, medical care is outrageously expensive.

"The drug industry makes higher profits than most corporations in the U.S. One reason for this is that drug companies give doctors kickbacks for prescribing expensive drugs.

"To help change this, medical training and medical expenses must be free. People shouldn't make money off of our lives.

"11. Better working conditions and more pay for workers.

"Most jobs are boring, unsafe, and have no chance for advancement. The worst example of this is in the mines, where gas and bad ventilation cause explosions and kill people by runing their lungs. (On top of that, the mines ruin our land and pollute our water). The people who own and run the mines and factories are trying to make more profit by producing as much as possible, as cheaply as possible. They don't care about the workers or their conditions.

"To have the best possible working conditions, the people who work in mines, factories, and other places must democratically control their places of work.

"12. Equal rights for women

"Women are treated as second-class citizens. For example, they get paid less money for doing the same work as men. Because of their responsibilities at home, women don't have as much freedom as men to do what they want.

"Women should have better jobs, equal pay for equal work. There should be free day care centers for women who want to work.

'13. Rank and file control of unions

"Union leaders make high salaries, are often company men, and don't work alongside the union members. Unions are supposed to represent their members--but in most cases they don't.

"Unions must be controlled democratically by the members who know their conditions and problems, and must face them every day.

"These are some of the problems and ideas that we must all stop and think about. There are many more problems and there are many more ideas. No one person knows all the questions or answers. That's why it's important for people all over to get together and talk about the different problems in our communities."

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5. NOC Publication

Source made available a copy of a publication entitled "The Firing Line," bearing no date but postmarked October 25, 1968. On page two of this issue in its masthead it was stated that "The Firing Line" is published by JOIN Community Union and the National Organizing Committee, 4401 North Broadway, Chicago, Illinois. Its editor was listed as PEGGY TERRY.

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Source advised that to his knowledge "The Firing Line" has not been published subsequent to the issue published during October, 1968.

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[REDACTED]

b. Radical Education Center (REC)

The REC was set up at the SDS national convention held at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, during the latter part of June, 1967. REC replaces the Radical Education Project which is now a separate organization from the SDS.

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The "NLN," issue of July 10, 1967, contained an article captioned "The Next Day-NC-Internal Education." This article read in part as follows with respect to the purpose of REC:

"The Radical Education Center (REC) will be the internal education arm of the SDS. It will exist for the use of chapters and teacher-organizers and will be responsible to their needs."

The SDS REC coordinates its literature program from the SDS National Office, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, and CONNIE ULLMAN acts in the capacity of SDS Literature Coordinator.

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B. SDS National Constitution

The SDS National Constitution as adopted in 1967 at its national convention continues to be the official constitution of the SDS.

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C. Aims and Objectives

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"SDS is a movement of young people who study and participate in daily struggles for social change. Committed to change in many spheres of society, SDS members, in chapters, projects, and as individuals:

- "(1). Organize the dispossessed in community movements for economic gains.
- "(2). Participate in activity for peace through protest, research, education and community organizations.
- "(3). Work for civil rights through direct action, publication and support of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).
- "(4). Inject controversy into a stagnant educational system.
- "(5). Support political insurgents in the fight for a government that will promote social justice."

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[REDACTED]

Source made available a copy of a leaflet entitled "An Introduction - SDS." This leaflet reads in part as follows:

"WHERE DO WE STAND?

"On Vietnam and US Foreign Policy

"SDS completely opposes the US Government's immoral, illegal, and genocidal war against the people of Vietnam. We insist on the immediate withdrawal of all US personnel from that country. Moreover, we see the US policy in Vietnam as part of a global strategy for containing revolutionary change in the 'Third World' nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Rather than the result of an essentially good government's mistaken decisions, we see the world-wide exploitation and oppression of those insurgent peoples as the logical conclusion of the giant US corporations' expanding and necessary search for higher profits and strategic resources. That system is most properly named imperialism, and we stand by and support all those who struggle against its onslaught. They are our brothers and sisters, not our enemies.

"On the Draft and the Military

"SDS demands the abolition of the Selective Service System. We see the Draft as racist and anti-democratic, procuring manpower for aggressive wars abroad. Moreover, through the 'deferment' system, the primary coercive function of the Draft is 'channeling' the lives of millions of young people outside the Military into lifelong vocations deemed 'essential' by corporate military elites rather than freely chosen by themselves. We urge and will organize all young men to wage a collective struggle in resistance to the Draft by refusing to serve in the Military. We also seek to break the barriers placed between us and our brothers in uniform. When forced by threat of imprisonment or exile, some of us will organize within the Armed Forces, advocating desertion and other forms of resistance to US foreign policy.

"On the Black Liberation Movement

"SDS has long and actively supported the struggle of black Americans for freedom and self-determination. Racism and exploitation confront black people as a group, together as a people. From this given condition of their daily lives, black people must act as a group in establishing their common identity, and in planning a strategy to challenge their oppression. We do not simply 'tolerate' the growth of black consciousness, we encourage it. Criticizing 'black power' as 'racism in reverse' is as mistaken as denouncing the American Revolution of 1776 as 'colonialism in reverse'. In addition

to confronting all aspects of institutionalized racism in American life, we strongly believe that the strongest support we can afford the black movement comes from our efforts to engage exploited whites in the struggles and values of radical politics.

"On Labor and the Struggles of Working People

"From its beginnings, SDS has recognized the crucial role that the working class has to fulfill in any movement for radical social change. More recently, we have rejected the false notion that most Americans are 'middle-class'. Considering professional, service, white-collar, and university-trained technical workers as a 'class' separate from blue-collar industrial workers serves only to confuse and divide millions of workers and students and prevent them from realizing the corporate capitalist source of their exploitation and their common interest in uniting against its oppression. To further the unity and radical consciousness of the working class as a whole we support the rank-and-file insurgencies of working people against their employers, the Government, and corrupt union leadership. One concern is not only the improvement of wages and working conditions for our brothers and sisters in the shops, but for a transformation of all labor issues growing out of alienation and lack of control into a movement against the capitalist system itself.

"On the Student Revolt

"SDS views the multiversity as a knowledge factory, a kind of service station producing skilled manpower and intelligence for integration with the marketable needs of the major corporate, government, and military institutions. Neither the content of the educational process, nor the ends to which our learning and resources are directed, further the fulfillment of humane social needs. Rather, the 'knowledge commodity' (ourselves and the results of our work) is shaped to further the production of waste, social oppression, and military destruction. The recognition of this process has been the driving force in our work to transform student 'alienation' into a radical force reaching out and uniting with constituencies beyond the campus in struggles against oppressive university administrations."

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D. Membership

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"ARTICLE II: MEMBERSHIP

"Section 1. Membership is open to all who share the commitment of the organization to democracy as a means and as a social goal.

"Section 2. S.D.S. is an organization of and for democrats. It is civil libertarian in its treatment of those with whom it disagrees, but clear in its opposition to any anti-democratic principle as a basis for governmental, social or political organization.

"Section 3. Dues. The amount and period of national dues shall be determined by the National Council.

"Section 4. Associates. Individuals who do not wish to join the S.D.S., but who share the major concerns of the organization, may become associates, with rights and responsibilities as defined by the national council."

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The "NLN" Volume 2, number 25, in the issue dated June 26, 1967, contained an article captioned "Membership Report." This article read in part as follows:

"The recorded membership of SDS stands at 6,371. In addition, there are 588 people who subscribe to 'NLN' but are not members. Of the 6,371 members, only 875 have paid dues since 1/1/67. The rest seem to think that the only thing they have to do is pay once and then forget it..."

Source made available a copy of a leaflet entitled "An Introduction-SDS." This leaflet reads in part as follows:

"The Growth of SDS

"The central force of the New Left in the United States has been Students for a Democratic Society or SDS. We are a young, rapidly growing movement; only sixty-odd people attended our founding convention at Port Huron, Michigan in 1961. Even by early 1965, SDS had fewer than twenty-five hundred members with chapters on less than forty campuses. However, with its April 17th, 1965 March on Washington to End the War in Vietnam, SDS grew in national prominence. Presently, there are over forty thousand national and local SDS activists in more than three hundred chapters in universities across the country.

"In the early years, SDS was a coalition of liberals and radicals, working from a multi-issue perspective on the questions of peace and disarmament, civil rights, poverty, and university reform. We supported reform Democratic electoral campaigns, and in 1964 even put out a button saying 'Part of the Way with LBJ'.

"Our bitter yet powerful experience with American politics in the 1960s has moved us considerably away from our original Left-liberal stand. Today SDS is a mass radical and anti-imperialist student movement. The critique we are developing of American corporate capitalism has brought us to advocate the necessity of an activist and revolutionary politics for the New Left."

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Source made available a copy of a letter dated November 30, 1968, on the letterhead stationery of SDS, addressed to "Brothers and Sisters" and sent over the names of the three SDS National Officers. This letter read in part as follows:

"We are in the midst of planning the winter educational conference and National Council meeting (Dec. 27-Jan 1). We expect over 1,000 SDS people. We hope it will mark the beginning of an intensive organizational emphasis on education programs vital for consolidating the enormous growth of SDS in the past few months.

"Our membership has nearly doubled since June. Chapters are drawing as many as two or three hundred to each SDS meeting in some parts of the country. SDS is beginning to reach out to new sections of American youth: high schools, community colleges, and the army. During the election activities the heaviest actions took place at campuses like North Texas State in Denton, Texas and San Fernando Valley State College in Northridge, California. We are expanding geographically too -- into the rocky mountain states and the south."

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E. National Officers and
Governing Bodies of SDS

1. SDS National Officers

The following individuals, who were elected at the SDS National Convention held during June, 1968, are presently national officers of SDS:

BERNARDINE¹ DOHRN - Inter-organizational Secretary
FRED GORDON - Internal Education Secretary
MIKE KLONSKY - National Secretary

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"ARTICLE VIII: NATIONAL OFFICERS AND STAFF

"Section 4. The National Secretary shall have primary responsibility for the functioning of the National Office. The National Secretary shall also have the primary responsibility for the implementation of national programs approved by the Convention or National Council.

"Section 5. The Inter-Organizational Secretary shall have primary responsibility for liaison with other organizations, both national and international, and for informing the membership about these groups. He/she shall not attend congresses, accept money, or establish formal relationships with organizations without the approval of the Convention, National Council, or in emergency, the NIC.

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"Section 6. The Education Secretary shall have the primary responsibility for the functioning of the internal education program.

"Section 7. The secretaries shall appoint assistants as necessary, subject to approval of the National Council."

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2. Miscellaneous SDS National Officers and Personnel

The "NLN," issue of November 19, 1968, on page three contained an article captioned "Notes from the NIC." This article read in part that the NIC approved the following individuals as members of the SDS National Office Staff:

STEVE TAPPISPIS
CONNIE ULLMAN
CATHY ARCHIBALD
JOHN DUNN
PAT FROST
DAVID MILLSTONE
PENNY ROSEMONT
HENRY ILLIAN

TIM MC CARTHY
SUE EANET
DAVID JOHNS
MARY WOZNIAK
KIT BAKKE
DOUG CORLEY
ELAINE LIPSCHUTZ

SUE EANET handles the financial matters of the SDS and ELAINE LIPSCHUTZ acts in the capacity of office manager at the SDS National Office.

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3. Governing Bodies of the SDS

a. National Council (NC)

Source made available a copy of the SDS National Constitution, as amended at the 1967 SDS National Convention held in Ann Arbor, Michigan. This constitution read in part as follows:

"ARTICLE VI: NATIONAL COUNCIL

"Section 1. (a) The national council shall be composed of (1) representative from each chapter with from five to twenty-five members, and one additional representative for each additional twenty-five members or fraction thereof in that chapter; (2) the eleven national officers; (3) elected liaison representatives from associated groups (with consultative vote); (4) liaison representatives from fraternal organizations (with fraternal vote); and (5) national staff (without vote). In all cases, NC members and liaison representatives must be members of SDS. No more than three members from one chapter or associated group may serve concurrently as national officers.

"(b) Five or more members residing in an area where there is no organized chapter may meet together to elect a delegate to the national or regional council, provided that (1) a certification of the meeting and election, bearing the signatures of at least 5 members, be sent to the national or regional office prior to the NC or RC meeting, and (2) evidence is offered that all SDS members in the area concerned received prior notice of the meeting and election.

"Section 2. The national council shall be the major policy-making and program body of the organization. It shall determine policy in the form of resolutions on specific views within the broad orientation of the organization; determine the program priorities and action undertaken by the organization consonant with the orientation and mandates set by the Convention; charter chapters, associated groups and internal organizations; and be empowered to suspend chapters, with the right of appeal to the Convention. The NC shall be responsible for the drafting of a budget, administration of the budget, and organization of fund raising; appointment of committee chairmen and representatives

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to other organizations; overseeing the functioning of the administrative committee; drafting an annual report and making arrangements for the Convention.

"Section 3. The national council shall have the power to appoint standing committees to carry on its work between its meetings.

"Section 4. The national council shall meet at least four times a year. A quorum shall be 40% of the voting members of whose election the national council has been notified. National officers may designate specific alternates. Chapter and liaison representatives may be represented by designated alternates from their groups."

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Source advised that the SDS NC does not have a permanent membership but that delegates are elected by the various SDS chapters to attend the NC meetings as they occur.

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b. National Interim Committee (NIC)

The following persons were elected to NIC membership at the SDS National Convention held during June, 1968:

CHIP MARSHALL
JEFF JONES
MIKE/JAMES
ERIC MANN
MIKE SPIEGEL
MORGAN SPECTOR
CARL OGLESBY
BARTTE HAILE

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The "NIN" issue of June 24, 1968, Volume 3, Number 21, contained an article captioned, "Minutes of the New NIC." In this article, the following information was set forth as to where the new NIC members could be reached:

Mike Klonsky (National Secretary)
SDS National Office
1608 West Madison Street
Chicago, Illinois 60612
(312-666-3874)

Bernardine Dohrn
(Inter-organizational Secretary)
SDS National Office
1608 West Madison Street
Chicago, Illinois 60612
(312-666-3874)

Fred Gordon (Education Secretary)
SDS National Office
1608 West Madison Street
Chicago, Illinois 60612
(312-666-3874)

Carl Oglesby
1204 Xenia Avenue
Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387
(513-767-1313)

Mike James
SDS National Office
1608 West Madison Street
Chicago, Illinois 60612
(312-666-3874 or 312-642-0543)

Eric Mann
42 Brainerd Road
Boston, Massachusetts
(phone listed under Lucy Candib)

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Chip Marshall
308 Stewart Avenue
Ithaca, New York
(607-273-0535)

Jeff Jones
109 Norfolk Street
New York, New York 10002
(212-942-1935; July-August TO 6-1771)

Mike Spiegel
1779 Lanier Place Northwest
Washington, D.C.
(202-332-1387)

Morgan Spector
4164 17th Street
San Francisco, California
or The Movement
449 14th Street
San Francisco, California
(415-626-3046 or 415-626-4577)

Bill Haile
Box 1941
Dallas, Texas 75221
(214-824-1837)

Source made available a copy of the SDS National Constitution, as amended at the 1967 SDS National Convention held in Ann Arbor, Michigan. This constitution reads in part as follows:

"ARTICLE VII: NATIONAL INTERIM COMMITTEE

"The Secretaries shall have the power to call a meeting of a National Interim Committee, to be composed of all the national officers, on a regular basis and in emergencies. Decisions of this body shall be subject to national council approval."

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c. National Administrative Committee (NAC)

The "NLN," issue of January 8, 1969, on page six contains an article captioned "NIC Passes on Cuba Week." This article set forth the following information with respect to the present membership of the NAC:

"NAC elections - Three (SDS) chapters in the Chicago area will elect one representative to the NAC, plus Clark Kissinger, Kit Bakke, Elaine Lipschutz and Mary Wozniak were approved by the NIC as NAC members."

F. SDS Publications

1. "New Left Notes"

The "NLN" issue of January 22, 1969, on page two in its masthead stated that "NLN" is published weekly by SDS, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois, except July and August, when publication is bi-weekly. Its editor was listed as DAVID MILLSTONE.

2. "CAW" Magazine

Source made available the May-June, 1968, issue of "CAW" Magazine. On page two of this magazine the following information was set forth: "This is the second issue of 'CAW!' a national magazine of the SDS. 'CAW' will be published at least six times a year through the New York Regional Office of SDS. As long as it remains financially feasible, 'CAW' will be sent to all dues paying members of SDS without charge."

The above issue set forth the following staff members for this magazine:

~~VIRGINIA ADMIRAL~~
~~JERRY BADANES~~
~~ED HUTTS~~
~~KATHY CUNZ~~
~~PAUL NEWTON~~
~~STEVE TAPPIS~~
~~NANCY VON BRETZEL~~

~~JERIANN BADANES~~
~~ART BERGER~~
~~RICHARD EPSTEIN~~
~~JUDITH LINDELOOM~~
~~CHARLIE SIMPSON~~
~~NANCY TOBY~~

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3. "SDS National High School Newsletter"

Source advised that to his knowledge the "SDS National High School Newsletter" has not been published subsequent to the issue of February, 1968.

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The "NLN" issue of October 18, 1968, on page three, contained an article captioned "High School Resolution". In this article it was stated that a High School Resolution was passed at the SDS NC meeting held at Boulder, Colorado, during October, 1968, and this resolution read in part as follows:

"3) That the Los Angeles Free Student--a paper put out by High School SDS in LA, which is distributed nationally, be circulated much more and officially represent SDS to high school students as a high school New Left Notes."

II. FINANCES

Source made available a copy of a letter dated November 30, 1968, on the letterhead stationery of SDS addressed to "Brothers and Sisters" and sent over the names of the three SDS National Officers:

This letter read in part as follows:

"The SDS program around election day helped consolidate our forces and strengthen regional development. At the same time, we began to understand the limitations that face a youth movement. Self-consciously defining the role of a youth movement in this country is a prime task for SDS in the coming months.

"The demands on the national office to serve the expanded needs and potentials of the organization have been enormous. During the election time actions we put out a quarter of a million pieces of literature alone; but we are left with debts of several thousand dollars. At the moment we have \$500 in the bank -- enough to last about 4 days if we pay no subsistence wages.

"Our press is now working double shift. We are preparing literature on high school and GI organizing, the work-in program, a history of the NLF and its forms of organization, materials on the Cuban revolution and the struggle to build a socialist society, a history of the American labor movement, and more. To produce 10 new pamphlets for mass distribution and reprint current material to fill our orders will require at least \$7,000.

"We produced a special issue of New Left Notes for use around election time; 50,000 copies were distributed. We would like to put out one issue a month for bulk distribution to chapters for use in their organizing work, but the cost is at least \$500 a month.

"The priorities are clear: internal education and outreach to new constituencies. We need the resources desperately. We are asking every brother and sister in the movement to raise \$15 (enough to pay a week's salary to one full-time staff member). Our strength is in the commitment of our members—in you. We know the bread is scarce, but a first principle of every revolutionary movement is the necessity to defend and sustain itself. As always, it is up to the revolutionaries."

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The "NLN" issue of January 8, 1969, page six, contained an article captioned "NIC Passes Cuba Week." This article reads in part as follows: "Socialist Hero award was given to Mark Rudd for raising more than \$3,000 for the National Office in three months."

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III. ACTIVITIES, PROGRAMS AND POLICIES OF SDS

A. General Activities

1. SDS Leaders

A regional conference of the SDS was held at Los Angeles, California, on October 18 - 20, 1968.

During the course of this conference, MIKE JAMES spoke and outlined the following points to be followed in connection with organizing:

1. Unity of working people, Negro and white working people should unite against their common enemy, the establishment.
2. Strive for abolition of unjust courts.
3. A demand for schools which meet the needs of young people. Schools at present are just a tool of the establishment.
4. Lower the voting age to 18.
5. Abolish discrimination in the Army.
6. Right to organize and choose leaders for GIs.
7. Tax corporations and not individuals.
8. Community control of police forces. Demand that police live in communities that serve.
9. Free medical services for everyone.
10. Better working conditions.

11. Equal rights in job opportunities for women.

12. Rank and file control of all unions.

Also, BERNARDINE DOHRN spoke during this conference and DOHRN, in her remarks, stated that recent articles in national magazines concerning SDS have helped to create interest in SDS. She added that these articles should be used as a basis for the recruiting of new SDS members.

She further stated that all R.O.T.C. Training Programs must be removed from the college and university campuses.

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The Chicago Area SDS and the PLP sponsored a rally at Roosevelt University, Chicago, on December 13, 1968, for the purpose of demonstrating support for the San Francisco State College (SFSC) student strike.

EARL SILBAR was the first speaker and stated that as the United States Government is a pawn for the big business interests, so is the SFSC. SILBAR stated that the ruling class

is the cause of oppression throughout the United States and as the government enters other countries for imperialistic reasons it manipulates the university system.

SILBAR further stated that the black students are analagous to the black workers who are exploited by capitalism. According to SILBAR, he sees the fight against the ruling class, the government, imperialism and oppression as a struggle against the universities which he believes are the institutions of the United States fascist-racist society.

SILBAR added that the strike and demonstrations at SFSC have been 50 to 70percent effective with support from three to five thousand students at every rally. He also stated that the SFSC administration will not allow any picket signs or demonstrations of any kind on the SFSC campus, but this is not preventing the student from striking out against racism and other oppressions at SFSC.

FRED GORDON was then introduced by EARL SILBAR and in his remarks stated that the conditions at SFSC are not an isolated example. GORDON stated that he has been travelling throughout the United States and visiting various campuses and in these travels and visits has found great unrest among the students who have the potential of causing other outbreaks against the racism openly practiced at these schools.

GORDON in his analysis followed much the same pattern as SILBAR in his speech, but was meliorated in tone. GORDON in his concluding remarks discussed imperialism in the United States and the resulting oppression of blacks.

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Members of the Colorado State University (CSU) SDS Chapter and Peace Action Now Committee (PANC) called for a peaceful demonstration on the CSU campus, Fort Collins, Colorado, on January 16, 1969. The purpose of this demonstration is to protest the January 16, 1969, appearance of the Dow Chemical Company recruiter on the CSU campus. United States policy in Vietnam and the proposed action of the State Board of Agriculture, the governing body of CSU, who had

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publicly indicated that CSU student fees would be raised to overcome a \$500,000 deficit in the CSU athletic budget. During the course of this demonstration MIKE KLONSKY, SDS National Secretary, would be the featured speaker.

The aforementioned demonstration was held as scheduled with approximately 200 students participating. MIKE KLONSKY spoke to the participants and stated that he was against the war in Vietnam and protested the increases in student fees.

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2. SDS National Organization

a. General

The "NLN" issue of November 18, 1968, on page 3, contained an article captioned "Report on the NIC." This article which was written by MIKE KLONSKY read in part as follows:

"The National Interim Committee (NIC) held a brief meeting following the Boulder NC which was attended by about 80 SDSers. What took place was for the most part a criticism and self-criticism evaluation of the NC and a division of labor for the up-coming SDS student strike and demonstration on election day.

"Because of the situation in the understaffed National Office and print shop, several local organizers are coming to the NO to work for the next few weeks, until the elections. Speakers are going to hit the road, and fund-raising to meet immediate needs (estimated at \$10,000) will have to be carried out. NIC and NIC sympathizers volunteered to raise \$100 each in the next week. All local organizers are asked to do the same if this national program, the first since April's disastrous 'Ten Days that Shook the Empire', is to be successful.

"A planning committee for the December NC was set up to deal with resource people, literature and an internal education day. Suggestions were made to a labor panel to educate 'new people' about the issues to be discussed. Suggested also were some educational sessions on economics.

"Coming under attack was the 'false dichotomy' made between education through action and dull 'intellectual (Obscene).' The NC planning committee will examine new forms and attempt to make the December NC less artificial.

"A coordinating newsletter for regional travelers was called for to help regional organizers and travelers keep in touch with each other outside of New Left Notes. John Johnson from the Los Angeles regional office will coordinate this communications system. All regional organizers should get in touch with John.

"The NIC gave tentative approval for the NO staff to begin looking for a new location: We have troubles with the office being in a black community; the Man is provoking trouble by encouraging young kids to harass the office staff; we're threatened by urban renewal within a few years. It was decided to look for a new site somewhere in the Midwest.

"Because NAC and REAC selections were not made at the NC, the NIC approved of a plan to make the usually disfunctional committees useful, until they can either be disbanded by the next NC or revamped so as to be relevant. It was suggested that the NAC could raise funds and look for new ways to develop resources for the organization. The REAC was redefined by the NIC as people who would be recruited around the country to develop and criticize new literature. If, for example, a new high school pamphlet is written, a group of high school organizers would criticize it and make necessary changes and corrections."

A rally was held at Lincoln Park, Chicago, Illinois, on November 5, 1968, for the purpose of expressing dissatisfaction with the 1968 elections. There were representatives from SDS chapters located in Chicago, the SDS Chicago Region, the National SDS office, Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) and the Progressive Labor Party (PLP).

During the period 1:00 p.m. to 4:30 p.m., there were performances in Lincoln Park by a guerrilla theatre group and a rock band.

At approximately 4:30 p.m., those who were participating in the rally proceeded to leave Lincoln Park for the Conrad Hilton Hotel where they proceeded to demonstrate.

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The "NLN" issue of November 19, 1968, on page 3, contained an article captioned: "Notes from the NIC." This article reads in part as follows:

"Fifty-two people met at Circle Pines camp outside Kalamazoo, Michigan over the weekend of November 15-17 for the National Interim Committee (NIC) meeting. Six

of the eight NIC members were present (absent, Carl Oglesby and Morgan Spector). Major on the agenda were 1) evaluation of election actions, 2) strategy for the coming months, including the inauguration, 3) education programs for SDS, 4) questions concerning the National Office staff, and 5) a primitive ritual orgy lasting until dawn.

"Although the discussion was often very good, its weaknesses were reinforced by the lack of responsibility to local or regional collectives on the part of those attending. Few people had come from regional assemblies or local discussions which dealt with the issues raised by the NIC.

"ELECTION

"by Bernardine Dohrn

"The NIC spent seven hours trying to evaluate critically the Boulder and Boulder election program. In general, the program successfully provided a strong organizational focus, helped build the developing new regions and chapters, and produced several strong militant actions. The disappointments in the strategy were important and provided the basis of the discussions:

"1) failure to articulate through literature or program an analysis of the bourgeois 'democratic' election apparatus; 2) uneven success in integrating the election program with ongoing organizing work; 3) inflated expectations about the ability of SDS to develop a program and mass line which reaches huge sections of the American people, i.e., failure to recognize the limitations of being fundamentally a student and youth movement; 4) (related to all the above) failure to develop two or the three parts of B&B: GI Week and the student strike.

"Increased Coordination

"In almost every region, the election program increased coordination between chapters. Regional staffs were developed which worked closely both with local chapters and with the National Office.

"In sum, the election program was a measuring rod of the reality of the organization--its strengths and its weaknesses. The program's success was largely internal: the strengthening of the organization on regional and local levels and the involvement of people who are now consciously using the resources and the lessons of that program in ongoing work.

"Weaknesses

"The most significant weaknesses in the implementation of the election strategy itself centered around sloganeering and the confusion of tactics with political line. Partly because we were unclear about whom we were speaking to, and partly because of an incomplete or wrong understanding of the elections, the analysis presented in the propaganda was generally poor. The class nature of elections in America was seldom communicated in literature or program. When it WAS stated, there were no forms for integrating the rhetoric of a leaflet or poster with our past experience or present actions.

"On and Off Campus

"A major reason for the shaky political analysis was the failure to see the election program as an integral part of on-going student and off-campus programs. This failure again raises the questions of issue organizing and the consistent movement inability to go beyond single issue struggles (with rare exceptions, such as Columbia). In very few areas was a militant expression of the student

movement's battles with schools, cops, the army, the war, and institutional expressions of racism, carried into the arena of elections and new constituencies.

"Because there is little or no understanding of the 'regular' parts of the movement as part of a class struggle, and little analysis of the class basis of other institutions in which we organize (schools, army, courts), we were unable to give meaning to our attack on the entire US government and its institutions of pacification. The election was understood as being a fraud even before we began in terms of its relation to specific issues: the war, law and order--but not as part of class power.

"We could not understand the elections as a class instrument when SDS does not understand the army or the schools as class instruments. The two thrusts of the program which were meant to provide that ongoing political context for the program on elections were not developed.

"GI Week

"GI Week was part of the election program in only a very few areas, and where work was done, it was seldom related to chapter people. At best, GI Week was an occasion for educating SDS about the existence of a movement inside the army.

"The student strike was almost universally interpreted as a demand to immediately close down the schools, rather than as a strategy for attacking the schools on a variety of levels: classroom, administration, trustees, recruiting, research, racism--and building a foundation through those actions for a more general understanding and more all-out attack on the universities and schools. Often, teach-ins were used as excuses for non-action rather than as genuine forums for education and

political debate. The general lack of militancy--even in programs attacking the schools--partly relates to fear of oppressions and to unwillingness to risk losing the status of student. But more importantly, the non-militant programs can be understood as the product of a greatly expanded SDS constituency with very uneven political development, and fragmentary notions on the nature of US society.

"It's a simple-minded maxim to reiterate that every revolutionary movement must consciously and systematically apply the lessons of its experiences--and failures more than successes. From here: 1) a serious program to consciously educate on every level of the organization; and 2) a more politically coherent and ongoing application of the issues raised by the election strategy.

"These issues will necessarily be part of our strategy during the next years: the illegitimacy of power in America, the class nature of that power, and the ways in which the left builds consciousness and involvement in a movement to challenge that power. These questions demand an assessment of ourselves--and our direction--of SDS as a student movement, a youth movement, and our relationship to broader constituencies.

"STRATEGY

"by Michael Klonsky

"The election discussion led into a long (10-hour) session on a strategy for the next three months. Within this discussion, ideas around a defense strategy and the Presidential inauguration were the central focus. It was hoped that any plan coming out of the NIC for the inauguration could be placed in a strategic context.

"A defense strategy was put forth by some NIC members which would have meant placing energy into an attempt to focus on the law and order issue, on racism and repression. There was talk of strategic attacks on the courts and the police as institutions of the rich with the possibility of educational conferences during the inauguration action. Also discussed were ideas for attacks on police training institutes (like the one at East Lansing) and propaganda which would expose the class nature of 'law and order'.

"Disrupt Inauguration

"Paul Potter came to the NIC representing the National Mobilization Committee and asked that SDS co-sponsor a call for people to come to Washington and hold a three-day program of conferences, workshops and actions which would 'disrupt the inauguration.'

"The NIC response was generally unfavorable to both the proposal and to the politics of the Mobe. Some regional representatives made the point that their regions wanted to bring people to Washington and use the inauguration action as a focus for organizing. Cleveland, Washington, Texas and Boston were among those regions.

"The final decision of the NIC was the following:

"1) SDS should NOT co-sponsor the Washington actions with the Mobe.

"2) SDS regions wishing to organize for the action as part of their own organizing programs should do so and the National Office should help them in any ways possible.

"3) SDS should develop propaganda and agitational material for the inauguration on 'law and order,' the 'immediate withdrawal' of troops from Vietnam, military organizing and racism.

"4) SDS representatives at the meeting of the Mobe in Washington should push for actions and educations during the inauguration to focus on and exposure of 'law and order' and its class and racist nature, and immediate withdrawal of troops from Vietnam. It is also necessary that the Mobe program include actions and educational material designed to reach out to such constituencies as GIs, working class college students and high school students.

"SDS's inability to call a national program around the inauguration could be in part attributed to the fact that most NIC members came to the meeting without a clear sense of the feeling of SDS people in their region.

"EDUCATION

"by Connie Ullman

"Discussion around educational programs started with Jim Mellon laying out REP's plan for setting up different kinds of literature, film, and speakers' programs. REP had decided to move into all areas of education partly because of the absence of materials coming out of the NO.

"People from other regions decided at the NIC to use the basic brochure in this same way--to go out with it in order to collect the main arguments and questions people raise which could then lead to a second brochure.

"There was some discussion about other kinds of educational models--use of the Newsreel, the exam used in Madison (which will be reprinted in NLN)--and it was decided to set up a three-day educational NC over Christmas coordinated by Jim Mellon. There was seen to be not only a clear need for the production of more literature but to work out new ways of using educational material.

"MISCELLANEOUS

"by David Millstone

"Several hours were spent discussing staff problems in the National Office. Several persons reaffirmed that the National Secretary has the authority to hire and fire staff as necessary, since he is charged with the responsibility of keeping the office running. National Secretary Mike Klonsky pointed out that this was a somewhat different situation, and he had decided to fire a member of the print shop for political and office security reasons.

"Cuba Trip

"SDS has been invited to send five observers to Cuba for the celebration of the 10th anniversary of the Cuban Revolution on January 2. The five will be chosen by the NIC. The NIC also decided to call for a week of solidarity with Cuba from January 2 to 10 (included in this week is the date on which the United States severed diplomatic relations with Cuba). The solidarity week will consist mainly of an education program, with posters and educational materials being prepared by the National Office. More specific details will appear in later issues of New Left Notes.

"Problems within chapters in Ann Arbor and New York led to a discussion of structure; no changes from present structure were agreed on, but most persons stressed the necessity of building strong regions which could deal with problems of chapter fights within the region.

"We still don't have a location for the December NC. St. Louis, the site agreed on at the Boulder NIC meeting, will be unavailable. We're trying to find a place somewhere in the Midwest. The NC will run from December 27 to January 1, with a NIC meeting on December 26.

If you've got a place for the NC (with accommodations for 1500 people) let the NO know about it right away. Time's running out. Articles and proposals for the NC should be sent to NLN within a week or two.

"The NIC received a brief report on the dire financial situation we're in. The election activity cost lots of money, and very little has come in, both from chapters and from regions which pledged money for bulk orders of NLN, among other things. A mailing will be sent out this week to the membership to try and raise some money fast."

Source made available a copy of a letter dated December 15, 1968, addressed to "Dear Fellow Cuba Traveller" and sent over the names of JOE HORTON and DAN FRIEDLANDER. This letter reads as follows:

"15 December 1968
year of the heroic guerilla

"dear fellow Cuba traveller,

"the NIC has called for a week (month, years?) of Solidarity with the Cuban people January 1-10. New Year's Day (10th anniversary of the Revolution) we should see fund-raising parties with political substance starting the month off with a bang. Money can be used expenses during Solidarity activities.

"Now, before Christmas, is the time we should line up speaking dates. Do not wait until January since most organizations have fixed schedules. We should speak everywhere, from junior colleges and high schools to YMCA's and coffee houses, from movie houses to community youth groups, from groups of GI's to radical caucuses if they can be arranged (power to the imagination!) This is an excellent opportunity to contact surrounding campuses without sds chapters. Speaking should be combined with pushing sds organizationally and building support among the people, remembering that we talking about more than just Cuba (Latin America, North America) and more than just sds.

"In order to fill all speaking engagements we can get, all comrades having been to Cuba should agree to be available any time during January with speaking taking priority over other responsibilities. Theoretically, the regional offices are working on setting up and co-ordinating speaking tours. Contact them immediately, but in any case much of the responsibility for the success of this month will depend on our own efforts. Try to get a co-ordinator for your area whom people can contact and keep in touch with.

"Each sds chapter should have at least one educational on Cuba during January. This will be co-ordinated at the NC where there will be a Cuba Table. So before the nc (if you're not going) we must know if you are available to speak in your area. Do contact someone regionally.

"Just a few thoughts we have now: We should see this as an educational campaign and should emphasize the relevance of Cuba to our own struggle: we can rap on What is socialism, how it's geared to human needs. How equal housing, medical care, education, etc., effects social attitudes. The role of the party and mass organizations. What can we learn from all that? things relevant to the questions and work of the people we are speaking to. Concepts of students, workers, the new man, the youth (had their student rebellions ten years ago) and on.

"We see this as an opportunity to articulate thru our literature and programs on analysis of anti-communism and its relation to capitalism, racism and imperialism and to aid the development of a political movement of young people in battle against those forces, of people who have decided to work, study, and fight where and for whom they want, in a movement for the liberation of our people; in other words, an opportunity to carry out a program like the anti-bourgeois 'democratic ELECTION apparatus program should have been, integrated with on-going organizing work._

"We took some space to make arguments for an aggressive Solidarity program, and realizing the pressures on us, this is a very important time for such a program of initiative: the continuing situation in Mexico, the recent Venezuelan incident (Nixon's complicity), the Pueblo, our own internal education and organizational needs. While speaking we might keep in mind the relation of Cuba's system to current problems here, such as epidemics (Dr. Sabin's article in Feb. '68 CAW! comes to mind) and the whole capitalist court system.

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"The N.O. is putting out several pamphlets; one on the history of Cuba, one on the economic transformation of Cuba and U.S.-Cuban relations, and possibly one on Cuba today. Che's book, Man and Socialism in Cuba, will also be mass distributed.

"Posters, films (Cuban-made and about Cuba) are also available, and nice programs could be done with slides and music, eh? Films will be co-ordinated thru the regional offices by Connie Ullman in the NO.

"Suggestions of other things we imagine we should all be doing before the NC; reading over Fidel's speeches and other publications (especially good for students is Fidel on intellectual property also in CAW!) Gitlin's article and others written by returnees ought to be used somehow. TURN HATRED INTO ENERGY!.

"Joe Horton
Dan Friedlander"

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Source made available a copy of a leaflet which was mailed from the SDS National Office. This leaflet read in part as follows:

"The first three days of the expanded December NC are devoted to educational meetings, workshops and raps. The last two days are filled by plenary sessions. Resolutions to the body, and working papers for the educational workshops should be sent to the national office as soon as possible. Resolutions and some of the papers will be printed in New Left Notes. (However, each person submitting a paper to the NC should bring at least 500 copies with him.) The following topics have been suggested for the educational sessions. Additional ideas should be sent to the national office.

- "1. SDS and racism -- the issues and strategies raised by black student demands, in universities, high schools, and junior highs. How should we deal with community control demands?
- "2. Developing a class perspective in our newer areas of organizing, high schools, community colleges, factories, and the armed forces.
- "3. International perspectives -- especially centering on Cuba, which is celebrating the tenth anniversary of their revolution in January. Also we'll be discussing the Vietnam war (the NLF is having its 8th anniversary celebration this month) and counter-insurgency research in this country.
- "4. Internal education -- how to use literature, films, guerilla theater actions. What makes a good leaflet, etc.
- "5. Defense strategy for the movement -- organizing attacks on the court system and the law and order apparatus in this country, including street patrols and other actions.
- "6. Economy and imperialism -- in order to gain a clearer understanding of capitalism and the necessity of imperialism to America's ruling class.

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"The NC will run from the evening of the 26th until January 1. Each chapter should send delegates' names to the National Office as soon as possible. Each chapter is entitled to one delegate; chapters over 25 members are allowed one delegate for each 25 members. Bring some bread -- there will be a minimal registration fee, and lots of lit to buy."

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A meeting of the National Council (NC) of the SDS was held at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, from December 27 through 31, 1968. According to source, approximately 800 individuals were in attendance of which approximately 175 were voting delegates with about half of this number being members of the Progressive Labor Party (PLP). This SDS NC meeting was divided into two separate basic sections which were as follows:

1. Education Conference -- December 27-29, 1968
2. SDS NC Meeting -- December 30-31, 1968

At the onset of this SDS NC meeting, it was apparent that there was considerable friction between SDS members, especially MIKE KLONSKY and BERNARDINE DOHRN on one side, and members of the PLP and FRED GORDON on the other side. Source stated that at times, during the course of this entire SDS NC meeting, there was considerable disagreement between these two factions which at times became quite heated. Source added that for the most part JARED ISRAEL, JEFF GORDON, JOHN LEVIN and JOHN PENNINGTON led the PLP fight against the KLONSKY-DOHRN SDS group.

Source further stated that PLP activities at this meeting were well organized and coordinated which included the stationing of various PLP members in the immediate area of the microphones in order that they might have ready access to them.

Source further stated that during the various panels conducted during the course of the "Education Conference", there was constant attacks made upon the various speakers of the pro-KLONSKY DOHRN group by PLP members.

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Source also stated that at the final session of the SDS Education Conference on December 29, 1968, a panel on "What Direction for the Movement" was held and was chaired by TIM MC CARTHY.

FRED GORDON was the first speaker and emphasized the following points:

1. The oppression of students and workers is different.
2. He objects to lumping Students and Workers together.
3. At the present time there is no real class consciousness.
4. Capitalism is a common source of oppression; it oppresses both the students and workers, but differently.
5. MIKE KLONSKY in his statements, is not clear -- he advocates militaristic action, but with no analysis. According to GORDON, this aspect is bad politics because it is vague.
6. KLONSKY's indicates that students are interested in doing their own "thing", but what is actually needed is "base-building".

GORDON was followed by STEVE HALLIWELL and made the following points in his remarks:

1. All Universities in the United States are just "on the job training force".
2. We cannot discuss Marxism in old terms because the contradiction is not at the point of production due to cybernation and automation.
3. The PLP does not recognize this change towards an automation type of capitalism.
4. It is imperative that the present day students relate to the Communists.

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Upon conclusion of HALLIWELL's remarks, MIKE KLONSKY then spoke. In his speech he noted the following main items:

1. As a direct result of racism and chauvinism of workers, students must move off the campuses.
2. Youth can be unified, although KLONSKY admitted there are differences, because all youth are oppressed by capitalism in different ways.
3. Youth can be organized and have their own organizations.
4. The great contradiction of youth is the "socialization process of capitalism".
5. The "drop-out", and the youth, as a result of this contradiction and the socialization process, realize that jails and courts are rigged because many are in jail for long periods of time before coming to trial and realize this is the control of capitalism. KLONSKY continued by stating that youth gangs and other personalistic rebellions exemplify this.
6. Youth can raise consciousness of working class people because of their revolutionary ideas.
7. KLONSKY stated that it was important that we understand that youth are not a class and is not the "ruling class".
8. KLONSKY stated that he realizes that there will never be a revolution not led by the industrial working class but youth, according to KLONSKY, can help raise this consciousness.
9. The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) probably helps channel deserters because they realize a need for offering an outlet for youth frustration and anti-capitalist manipulation: KLONSKY added that it is up to us to offer this youth a revolutionary alternative therefore, we must organize the GI's.

10. We must realize that blacks are in a "colonial - struggle" against the capitalist mother country.

41 KLONSKY in his remarks, according to source, made obscene remarks against FRED GORDON in connection with a recent pamphlet written by him and he, KLONSKY, attacked PLP's position of not announcing to the workers in factories that they are communists.

JEFF GORDON then spoke and made the following comments:

1. He advocates a worker-student alliance.
2. GORDON attacked KLONSKY's position on the pamphlet written by FRED GORDON and stated that in order for FRED GORDON to get it printed, he had to rely on the New England SDS Region because KLONSKY refused to allow it to be printed.
3. GORDON also defended the right for an individual not to allow his name to be signed to an article inasmuch as some of the individuals were still working in the factories and would lose their jobs if they were identified.
4. GORDON stated that no PLP member accepts a 2-S student deferment but the military does not want a PLP member organizing servicemen; therefore, they seldom enter the service.
5. GORDON saw the primary contradiction in the military service as soldier versus Imperialism and soldier versus officers.

Following the completion of the aforementioned panel, a lunch break was taken, and upon returning, the three National SDS officers gave their report.

FRED GORDON gave his report as Internal Education Secretary. GORDON made the following points:

1. College students are oppressed both materially and culturally.
2. Students should join with other oppressed people, such as the workers.
3. There is little in common among students.

4. In a worker-student alliance, students must realize that workers are oppressed more.
5. Worker-student alliances have worked in practice and mentioned cities of Boston, San Francisco and New York City.
6. Failure to create a literature program was the failure of SDS people to send in reports.
7. Some of the attacks on the part of KLONSKY is because of his, GORDON's, "worker-student alliance politics."

Following GORDON, KLONSKY then gave his report as SDS National Secretary. KLONSKY in his report, defended the politics as put forth in his youth proposal. He began his report by stating that he agreed with some of the PLP's suggestions about the main thrust of a revolution coming from the "primary conflict", that being between the industrial working class and the capitalists. KLONSKY also agreed that the secondary contradictions were also very important. Those secondary contradictions can be seen through the struggles of youth. KLONSKY then proceeded to give an example of the above, using the City of Los Angeles where he stated, a new law was passed which allows for the arrest of young people who are not doing anything or that they look like they have no purpose on Sunset Strip. He said these people were arrested and thrown into jail or sent to work farms and are not heard from for six to eight months.

KLONSKY continued by stating that he first got into the movement in Los Angeles by offering draft counseling on Sunset Strip. He said that this is the first time he has ever made a proposal and he feels that he is operating from a minority position. However, the most important thing was not getting his proposal passed, but in organizing around it.

KLONSKY further stated that the youth can be important in the revolution and in ultimately seizing state power and they can be organized around their own oppression and can relate that to the worker and thus create consciousness.

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According to source, upon completion of his report, KLONSKY received a loud, standing ovation that lasted for several minutes.

BERNADINE DOHRN, as the SDS Inter-organizational Secretary, then gave her report. She stated that she agreed with KLONSKY and said that we must create an international revolutionary consciousness. DOHRN advocated the youth movement and added that their struggle could be seen in concrete ways.

DOHRN, in her concluding report, stated that it was important to organize high schools and junior colleges and bring our movement to them.

Source advised that the first plenary session of the SDS NC meeting commenced at 12:15 p.m., December 30, 1968, with approximately 800 persons present. This plenary session, which was chaired by TIM MC CARTHY, first took under consideration KLONSKY's youth proposal which was entitled, 'Towards a Revolutionary Youth Movement.' Copies of this proposal were furnished to each individual present and read in part as follows:

"At this point in history, SDS is faced with its most crucial ideological decision, that of determining its direction with regards to the working class. At this time there must be a realization on the part of many in our movement that students alone cannot and will not be able to bring about the downfall of capitalism, the system which is at the root of man's oppression. Many of us are going to have to go through important changes, personally. As students, we have been indoctrinated with many racist and anti-working-class notions that in turn have produced racism and class-chauvinism in SDS and was responsible largely for the student-power focus which our movement has had for many years. Student power at this stage of our movement has to be seen as economism; that is, organizing people around a narrow definition of self-interest as opposed to class interest. We are moving beyond this now, but that movement must be planned carefully and understood by all.

"The fact that we saw ourselves as students as well as radicals, and accepted that classification of ourselves and many of the false privileges that went along with it (2-S deferment, promise of the 'good life' upon graduation, etc.) was primarily responsible for the reactionary tendencies in SDS.

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Main Task

"The main task now is to begin moving beyond the limitations of struggle placed upon a student movement. We must realize our potential to reach out to new constituencies both on and off campus and build SDS into a youth movement that is revolutionary.

"The notion that we must remain simply 'an anti-imperialist student organization' is no longer viable. The nature of our struggle is such that it necessitates an organization that is made up of youth and not just students, and that these youth become class conscious. This means that our struggles must be integrated into the struggles of working people.

"One thing should be clear. This perspective doesn't see youth as a class or say that youth will make the revolution by itself. Neither does it say that youth are necessarily more oppressed than older people, simply that they are oppressed in different ways. There are contradictions that touch youth specifically. To understand why there is a need for a youth movement, first we must come to see how youth are oppressed.

"Oppression of Youth:

"Youth around the world have the potential to become a critical force.

"Institutions like schools, the military, the courts and the police all act to oppress youth in specific ways, as does the work place.

"The ruling class recognizes the critical potential of young people. This is why they develop so many organizations and forms to contain them.

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"Revolutionary Youth

"We must also understand what role a youth movement would have in the context of building a revolution. An organized class-conscious youth movement would serve basically four functions in building revolutionary struggle:

"1. An organized revolutionary youth movement is itself a powerful force for revolutionary struggle. In other words, our struggle is the class struggle.

"2. Youth is a critical force which---through struggle can expose war, racism, the exploitation of labor and the oppression of youth.

"3. Because we can organize---as a student movement---around the contradictions that affect youth specifically, we can organize young working people into our class-conscious anti-capitalist movement.

"4. The expansion of the base of the youth movement to include young people changes the character of our movement importantly: because it fights the tendency of our student movement to define itself in term of 'student interest' rather than class interest.

"Because we see a revolutionary youth movement as an important part of building a full revolutionary working-class movement, we must self-consciously shape our own strategy now with a view to that youth movement.

"Racism

"Building a class-conscious youth movement means fighting racism. SDS must see this fight as a primary task.

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"We must also fight racism within our own movement and among youth in general and make our loyalty to the black liberation struggle more solid.

"The implementation part of this proposal should not be seen as a national program of action but rather as some suggested actions as well as some necessary actions to be taken if such a youth movement is to be built.

"1. Build Class Consciousness in the Student Movement in the Development Towards a Revolutionary Youth Movement

"a. SDS organizers would direct the focus of their energies to organizing on campuses of working-class colleges, community schools, trade schools and technical schools as well as high schools and junior colleges.

"b. Attacks should also focus on the University as an arm of the Corporations that exploit and oppress workers. Corporations that exploit workers should be fought on campus. (Aside from producing napalm, Dow Chemical Company has plants in 27 countries of the third-world and is among the largest international corporations).

"c. SDS should move towards the building of alliances with non-academic employees on the campus based on struggle against the common enemy, the university. SDS should view the university as a corporation that directly oppresses the working class.

"d. SDS should move to "destudentize" other students by attacking the false privileges of the university, e.g., the 2-S deferment should be attacked on that basis.

"e. Some of us should move into factories and shops as well as into working-class communities, to better understand the material oppression of industrial workers, as well as to eradicate prejudices against workers.

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"f. We should move into the liberation struggle now being fought inside the armed forces and take an active part. Up until now, we have paid only lip-service to that struggle of mostly working class youth.

"g. Youth should be made to see their own struggle and the struggle of the Vietnamese against imperialism as the same struggle. The war must continue to be an important focus for SDS organizing.

"h. We must join the fight against the class and racism nature of the public school system.

"i. Drop-out and forced-out youth both should be encouraged to join our movement.

"II. Attack on Institutional Racism

"We must view the university as a racism and imperialist institution which acts to oppress the working class and is the brain center of repression against the liberation struggles at home and around the world. Programs should be developed which aggressively attack it as such and attempt to stop it from functioning in that manner. Targets should include:

- a. Police institutes on the campus
- b. The real estate establishment (The University of Chicago is among the largest slumlords in the city)
- c. Centers for counter-insurgency (domestic and foreign) including research and planning centers and sociology and education schools which teach people racism so that they can help defeat the struggles of blacks.
- d. Racism in the classroom, especially in high schools where students are forced by law to sit and listen to racist and class prejudiced distortions of history.

• A fight should be waged for the admission of black students and brown students to help wage the fight against racism on the campus. Blacks are carrying on the most militant fights both on and off the campus and more black admissions mean a more militant campus movement. We must also expose the racist and class nature of admissions systems and the high school track system and demand that the schools be opened up to the community so that they too can struggle to stop its oppression."

According to source, there was a general discussion by the whole body for approximately one and a half hours with different speakers defending and attacking the proposal. Upon completion of this debate, TIM MC CARTHY stated that he would hear four speakers for and four speakers against; thereby, taking the discussion out of the body as a whole.

Among those who spoke at this time were:

1. PETER PRAN - PRAN defended the proposal by stating that the youth can help the revolution.
2. JOHN DUNN - DUNN spoke against it.
3. JOHN JACOBSEN - JACOBSEN spoke in favor of the proposal.
4. EARL SILBAR - SILBAR spoke against the proposal and stated that this proposal sounded like the old Communist Party line of organizing youth.
5. KATHY FISCHER - FISCHER spoke against it by giving examples of action at her school, the University of Chicago, and stated that SDS there had no real organization.
6. MIKE KLONSKY - KLONSKY defended his proposal saying that the PLP was trying to distort the issue by giving isolated examples that weren't really pertinent.

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Upon completion of the above remarks, a vote was taken and the proposal passed with a plurality of approximately 16 votes. After the completion of this vote, there was wild applause and shouting.

This plenary session then took up the proposal on racism which reads in part as follows and was submitted by students from San Francisco State College (SPSC).

'The Material Basis of Racism

"The material basis of racism is capitalism's driving need to maximize profits. It is estimated that an extra \$22 billion a year is made off the wage differential between black and white workers (black workers make an average of \$3000 less per year than white workers). Low wages for black workers and black unemployment are used to keep down wages for all workers; rent and food prices are higher in black and third world ghettos.

"Black workers are a major section of the industrial work force, e.g., in steel, auto, longshore, railroad. The superexploitation of that section of the working class serves to divide the working class, and to prevent them from uniting against the bosses. Therefore, because racism is based on class exploitation, it is in the material interest of the entire working class and the majority of students to defeat it.

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"The Superstructure of Racism"

"The ruling class also has created a whole series of racist myths and prejudices in order to justify and continue the superexploitation of third world people at home and abroad. These lies tell us that, "There is something inherently inferior in third world people that leads to their being slaves." These lies are used to mask the necessity of capitalism to enslave the great majority of the people in the world.

"Racism Can Only Be Defeated on a Class Basis"

"To primarily attack the superstructure of racism leads to a psychological and moralistic attitude. By not rallying people to attack the material superexploitation and oppression which generates racism, this liberal political approach only serves to perpetuate racism.

"To unite black and white people against the racist practices of the class enemy is the only way to defeat racism. This must be concretely applied to specific struggles, as in the recent series of wildcat strikes of black and white workers led by black caucuses (e.g., REA, steel) and as at Columbia and S.F. State. The superstructure of racism is very powerful and has a life of its own, and its manifestations must also be fought.

"Fight Racism in the University"

"Over the last few years SDS has led struggles to expose the imperialist and class nature of the university and the need to build a worker-student alliance. We have to at this point, begin to consciously point out that struggle against one of the main aspects of bourgeois education, one of its most sacred tenants--the promotion of racism.

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"If we are serious about allying with third world students as well as workers in fighting facism we should have no illusions about the nature of this fight. It will lead us into even sharper struggles against the class enemy than we have previously experienced.

"Racism in the Movement"

"If we are to take part in or lead any struggles against the racist nature of the university we first of all must conduct a struggle around racist attitudes in the movement.

" 1) Racism and the bulking of the worker-student alliance. The vast majority of the non-white people in this country are part of the working class--the most exploited section of the working class. Non-white workers are in the vanguard of struggles against the bosses and the sell-out union leadership. We should be clear that the contempt of many students for the working class in general is in particular an attack on third world workers as well. To refuse or fight against building an alliance with the working class around anti-racist politics is nothing but capitulation to imperialism.

"2) The attitude that "racism is amorphous-white students can't relate to it". This argument denies the super-exploitation and oppression of third world people and third world students in particular. It shows no understanding of the basic way in which racism is used by the ruling class.

" 3) The non-class "cultural oppression approach" which leads to the racist formulation that "students are niggers too." How many white students have been shot down by the cops? How many white students face the problem of a ghetto existence? Non-white people are super-exploited. They get the lowest wages, worst jobs, worst working and living conditions, and are part of the most oppressed class, the working class. Students also are oppressed (ie, we're fed racist, anti-working class lies in the classroom, taught to be social workers who regulate poverty and oppression instead of helping people, etc.) but this

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Oppression is not nearly as sharp as the oppression of non-white students and workers. Students also have some privileges (for instance, 2-S deferments).

"There is an even more racist lie in the "student as nigger" formulation. Instead of seeing third world people as the heart of the work force, and therefore in a position of tremendous strength, it sees them as powerless and alienated--like students. This is an insult to both black people and students.

" 4) Reverse Chauvinism. Some people say that it is racist to criticize anything put forward by a black person, or at least by someone who claims to be a black militant. This patronizing attitude comes from not understanding that the class aspect of imperialist oppression is primary. It furthers nationalism, an ideology that the ruling class relies on to split the movement.

"5) The role of revolutionary violence. One of the main tactics of the administration at SFSC was to have their liberal front men express their undying support for demands of third world students, but at the same time condemn their "violence." The necessity of working people and particularly black people to use violence is a result of the violent and systematic oppression which the ruling class perpetuates every day. Revolutionary violence against the class enemy and its lackeys (college administrators) is the only way that class in the long run is going to be smashed. The role of white radicals is not to excuse or rationalize the sharpness with which the third world students are willing to fight the administration, but to build support for it, draw courage from it, and participate in it.

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" Within the movement we must have a clear and serious attitude towards the increasing sharpness of the struggle against the state. The adage that there are some that talk and some that act proved itself very true at SF State.

"We need no more diagrams by "new left" journalists about how to blow up armored cars. What we do need is a lifelong commitment in practice to fight the ruling class by whatever means necessary.

" Anti-Communism -- The Twin Brother of Racism

" At SFSC red-baiting attacks have been directed against third world students and other radical groups, particularly SDS and PLP. The red-baiting of the strike was used in the same way as racism. It was directed at dividing the people so that they would be less able to fight the administration. The ruling class pushes the idea that the communists are using the "not unfounded grievances of the people" (Vietnamese or third world people in the United States) while "we" (the white ruling class) know what is really best for the people -- the imperialist system. The ruling class fears communist participation in these struggles because communists put forward proletarian internationalism, which is the only answer to the imperialist's attempt to divide and rule on a national basis.

" Nationalism has replaced pacifism as the main ideological weapon of the ruling class within the Black Liberation Movement. Nationalism is used to divert third world people from struggle on a class basis and from making alliances with white workers and students. Because of the special super-exploitation of Black people, their struggle is now national in form and working class in content.

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"Defeating Racism is the Key to Defeating Nationalism"

" Racism is the material basis of nationalism. The racism that third world people encounter from white workers and students make nationalism that much more believable. White students and workers should never use opposing nationalism as an excuse for not primarily and fiercely fighting racism.

" Specific Proposals

" 1) Special Admissions. Struggles around admissions of third world students are breaking out on campuses around the country. This is a setback for the ruling class and a step forward for the student movement. These struggles unite third world and white students. They unite the student movement with third world workers. And they have raised the movement to a higher level of mass militancy. The ruling class wants to co-opt these struggles by claiming that admitting more third world students will end racism.

" SDS as well as radicals among the third world students, must play a major role in these struggles if they are not to be co-opted. We have to point out that more college admissions cannot be a strategy to end racism, but is a tactic to sharpen the attack on capitalism. We have to fight around the class content of our education.

" 2) Urban Removal. Many universities (Columbia, Chicago) are trying to expand their campuses into the surrounding ghettos. This means the eviction of third world working class families. Black, brown and white students should ally with the working class communities to stop these evictions against their common enemy-the administration.

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"3) Support Strikes. Part of the overall strategy for a worker-student alliance is to fight racism by supporting the on-the-job struggles of the third world workers, including campus workers. This means interjecting anti-racist ideology into the struggles of all workers.

"4) Support of ghetto rebellions. This means winning students to seeing the need to support the sharp struggles of black and other non-white workers, as opposed to the band-aid running and helpful tactical hints to the black masses put forward in new-left publications. We must build this support around seeing the right to use "whatever means necessary" to fight the daily violent oppression used by the ruling class against the people.

"5) High Schools The alliance with high school students was an important element at S.F. State: the high school students supported the strike and raised their own demands. Anti-racism is vital in building the high school movement.

"6) Take the initiative in education on racism. It is the responsibility of white radicals, not black students, to fight racist attitudes among white students. One thing we used successfully during the strike was classroom education -- going into classes and speaking on questions of racism in the university and other questions relating to the strike. We should also be clear that racism is a principled question, and that it will destroy the movement unless it is fought and defeated.

"7) The National Office should open "New Left Notes" to more articles relating to racism and the worker-student alliance, particularly those written by chapter people involved in such struggles, rather than "new-left" theoreticians.

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" 8) The movement must involve working people or it will be isolated and doomed. Campus struggles must be related and tied to working class struggles. Active support should be given to local strikes; students should keep in close touch with rank-and-file union caucuses and individuals previously contacted; community support and involvement should be sought for SDS activities. Only when the student movement is united with the masses of working people in this country will we be on the way to crushing the imperialist system. "

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Source stated that upon submission of the above Proposal to the SDS NC Meeting, a two and one-half hour discussion took place, during which time, various speakers gave their own personal views on this specific matter. Upon completion of this discussion, TIM MC CARTHY then allowed four speakers for and four speakers against the Racism proposal to speak and in this connection DAVID WILLSTONE offered an amendment to the original proposal that Section Seven of the proposal be omitted because of the implications therein.

Source further stated that upon the conclusion of the speakers, a vote was then taken for the passage. MC CARTHY and three other individuals, who assisted him in counting the votes, took the vote on three different occasions; however, each time the vote was taken a discrepancy was noted. A roll call vote was then suggested and conducted over the objections of MC CARTHY who stated that such a roll call vote would take too much time.

The roll call vote was by chapter and first name of the delegates only in order to insure security for the individual delegates. The SFSC Racism proposal was passed, 83 to 81, with Section Seven of the original proposal deleted. The passage of this proposal met with wild applause.

The first SDS NC plenary session, upon completion of the aforementioned business, adjourned at 1:15 a.m.

Source advised that the second plenary session of the SDS NC Meeting reconvened at 11:20 a.m., December 31, 1968, with approximately 450 individuals in attendance. TIM MC CARTHY again chaired this session.

The first item of business was the submission and discussion of the "Women's Liberation Proposal". This proposal, whose primary supporters were NOEL, IGNATIN and MARGE HAILE, reads in part as follows:

"Women form the oldest and largest continually oppressed group in the family of humankind, their subjugation dating from the downfall of primitive communal society and the rise of private property

"The inability of the most advanced, technologically developed etc., capitalist society to provide equality to half its citizens not only exposes the thorough hypocrisy of all that society's words about "justice" and equality". It also shows that the struggle for equality of women is a revolutionary task that is one which cannot be completed

under the present system of private property and the exploitation of the majority of people by a social class which is defined by its ownership of the means of producing wealth.

"Male supremacy in the movement mirrors male supremacy in capitalist society. The fact that male supremacy persists in the movement today, raises the issue that although no people's liberation can happen without a socialist revolution in this country, a socialist revolution could take place which maintains the secondary position of women in society. Therefore the liberation of women must become a conscious part of our struggle for people's liberation.

"Women are not oppressed as a class but they are oppressed as women within each class. We emphasize that oppression of women through male supremacy, like racism which oppresses black people, is not merely a quantitative increase in the class exploitation which women experience, but also a qualitatively different kind of oppression which they experience as women in addition to the exploitation of all working people.

MATERIAL BASIS

"Before discussing the material basis of the oppression of women, we must emphasize here that not only is the oppression of women most severe in the working class, but that black working class women are the most oppressed group in the society. Black women are a uniquely oppressed group because as blacks, as workers, and as women they experience the most compounded forms of oppression capitalism/imperialism has devised.

The material basis of woman's oppression can be listed under three main headings:

- " 1. Women are a reserve army of labor to bring down wages; for instance a) they have been used in the past to take the place of male workers needed by the military in wartime b) at times women are used against collectively organized groups of workers, since their condition forces them to work for lower pay.
- " 2. Women fulfill the function of saving enormous costs for the bourgeoisie in that they perform free services (housekeeping) providing the necessities of life for the working class man at the lowest possible costs.

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" 3. Another objective function of the oppression of women in capitalist society is to help obscure the class nature of that society. The nature of women's material condition places them in a relationship which acts as a lightning rod for man's justified frustration, anger, and shame at their inability to control their natural and social environment.

SUPERSTRUCTURE IN GENERAL --- IDEOLOGY IN PARTICULAR

" The aspects of the oppression of women in a capitalist society are of a dialectical nature as are those of the oppressed classes in general, and the exploited class in particular.

" In order for women to become full political people in SDS and in order for the oppression of women to be taken on as a struggle by SDS, male supremacy must be eliminated within the organization itself. SDS people must battle two beliefs. First, women in SDS must battle the belief that struggling for their own liberation is not important. Second, SDS must battle the belief that the fight for equality of women is solely the business of women, and that only women have the right and responsibility to oppose male domination.

" Whatever forms within SDS are decided upon to organize this campaign, they should be such that the chapter as a whole has charge and responsibility, with women taking the main responsibility to organize women for their liberation, and men taking the main responsibility to attack male supremacy and to win the support of other men.

" We propose that SDS take up the fight for women's rights on campus by raising several specific demands which will expose the way women are specially oppressed within the university set-up and rally students to fight against that oppression.

"1. We should launch a campaign to bring the wages of women employees of the university up to the level of men. This must definitely not be subordinated in a struggle to raise wages of all employees, nor should it be postponed on the ground that it would divert attention from the just demands of all employees, male and female. The central question is oppression --- the general oppression of all employees and the special harsh oppression of women employees. In some cases, tackling the especially low level of women's wages may prove to be the key to solidifying all the employees and winning improvements for all. In general, it would be better to raise the two questions side by side, with equal emphasis; but in no case should SDS challenge the low wages and bad conditions generally without especially challenging the especially low wages and bad conditions for women.

"2. It is necessary to begin the struggle for women's equality in educational institutions where working class women are trained and socialized. Within the context of work in the high schools, state schools, teachers' colleges, junior colleges, and trade schools, emphasis should be placed on beauty schools, secretarial, nursing, and other job training schools for women.

"3. We should relate the struggle for women's rights in the schools to the struggle of women generally, and especially working class women, against the institutions that repress them, for example juvenile court, girls' homes, women's detention centers and prisons, family court, welfare, labor battles such as Levi Strauss, and others.

"4. Launch fights around curriculum and organize in classrooms to expose how the schools reinforce the male supremacy definition of "woman's role." Challenge the counseling practice of steering women into auxiliary occupations. Demand the teaching of the history of woman's struggles for liberation. This should be carried out in the context of on-going programs which challenge course content and direction.

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"The campaign for specific demands should be accompanied by research, internal education and propaganda by SDS explaining why women are still subjugated by men, why they cannot achieve equality under the present system, and why all men and women should fight for women's liberation."

The main arguments during the course of the discussions held on this proposal reflected that PLP members were of the opinion that women are not directly oppressed by men, but are oppressed by the primary contradiction between the ruling class and the working class which divides women of today. The analysis of the proposal was constantly challenged by the PLP members.

According to source, the opposing view indicated that this in fact was true, but the direct secondary conditions are that women are oppressed just because they are women and this aspect must be dealt with in a concrete way.

After a lengthy debate and discussion, the above proposal was voted on and passed in its original form.

This SDS National Committee (NC) Plenary session then took into consideration a proposal on the forthcoming "Inauguration" as submitted by the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (NMC), which was not submitted to this body in written form.

A discussion then developed around this proposal and it was immediately indicated that the NMC proposal was no good because it represented "liberal garbage".

MARK RUDD spoke in favor of SDS participating in the "Inauguration activities" and stated that this event would offer an excellent opportunity for SDS to present its politics and also to help present a clear line of action for all new SDS chapters which have recently joined SDS. RUDD added it would be a good organizing weapon because the organizing is generally made easier after a direct confrontation against the American Imperialists.

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According to source, at this point in the discussion, a group of individuals called the "Black Caucus" addressed the Plenary Session and stated that to go to Washington, D.C. during the Inauguration, would only cause the black community to feel the reprisals of SDS actions and that this would break any thought of obtaining a black-white student alliance against American oppression.

MIKE KLONSKY spoke on this issue and indicated that he was against SDS going to Washington, D.C. during this forthcoming Inauguration, but not on the grounds suggested by members of the PLP. KLONSKY indicated that students should first organize a student-worker alliance before any confrontations should be attempted.

The SDS NC meeting then agreed to vote on the following proposals:

1. That SDS should either go to Washington, D.C. for the Inauguration or not go - It was voted that SDS would not go to Washington, D.C.
2. To accept the "Black Caucus" position as the reason for not going to Washington, D.C. This was voted down.

The next item of business taken into consideration was the "Work-In" pamphlet by FRED GORDON. No specific proposal was distributed, but it was read by FRED GORDON. GORDON related the events of the failure of the SDS National Office to print the pamphlet which he described as "political suppression".

GORDON continued by stating that there has been suppression in the "New Left Notes", the official publication of SDS, because KLONSKY does not accept "student-worker politics" and has in fact, according to GORDON, taken it upon himself to judge and create SDS policy with no regard for any disagreeing points of view. GORDON then proposed the following:

1. That the SDS National Office refrain from this political suppression in the "New Left Notes" and in the print of educational material.

2. All political points of view be heard. GORDON added that politics, which denounce the Vietnam war on moralistic grounds, not be published because they fail in an analysis of American Imperialism and Capitalism as the real cause.

According to source, the above "Work-In" pamphlet consists of a number of articles which are written by a number of SDS people throughout the United States and relating their experiences with respect to their employment in industry during the 1968 Summer.

The aforementioned pamphlet contains a "Special Preface", written by FRED GORDON and reading in part as follows:

"SPECIAL PREFACE

"This is a copy of the pamphlet on the 1968 summer work-in that Mike Klonsky, Bernadine Dohrn, and the National Interim Committee (NIC) refused to print. The essays grew out of discussions in work-in groups all last summer. They were collected and put in pamphlet form four weeks ago. The introduction and title to the pamphlet were written by the steering committee of the Chicago work-in.

"The NIC's refusal to print the work-in pamphlet is part of the national office leadership's attempt to suppress pro-worker-student alliance ideas in SDS. There have been many related incidents. I view this as a very serious threat to the development of the organization.

"In the case of this pamphlet, I felt 1) that criticism had already been given by people who were closest to the work-in, viz. The work-inners themselves; and 2) that since the essays came out of work-in committees, it was not up to me to change the content of the essays except on small grammatical points. Thus I planned to print the pamphlet immediately.

"There were other reasons as well why I wanted to get the pamphlet done and not feel the necessity of sending it around. It seemed to me that Klonsky and Dohrn intended to prevent this pamphlet -- and any material that argued strongly for a worker-student alliance -- from being printed. They hoped to tie up the pamphlet in preparation stages indefinitely. Because of my

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advocacy of worker-student alliance, Klonsky had sought to bait me in office meetings, saying I was an agent of Progressive Labor Party who had slipped into the office disguised as a Marcuse-ite (I had been studying with Marcuse for two years in San Diego) and now was trying, on orders from PL, to destroy SDS. I was about to leave for two weeks on the road. Under these conditions, I thought that the pamphlet would be valuable to have at the December NC which was four weeks off and that if the pamphlet did not go to press immediately, I could forget about seeing it in four weeks -- or six months.

"A few days later I talked to Klonsky. He said the pamphlet could not be printed because some of the articles were unsigned. I explained that the reason they were unsigned was because their authors were either still on the job or wanted to take the same job next summer and did not want to be identified as organizers and be fired. Klonsky said that he and the NIC refused to print it unless he at least knew who the authors were. He said that so far as he was concerned, the whole pamphlet was written by the Central Committee of Progressive Labor and not by a single person who was actually in the work-in. He said further that three members of the NIC were against printing the pamphlet altogether -- even if the names were supplied, and the introduction and title changed. These NIC members were Eric Mann, Mike James, and Morgan Spector. But, he said, if I got the names to him, the NIC "would see" about printing.

"I supplied the names to Klonsky for his private information. He again polled the NIC which again refused to print because they disliked the introduction and the title. I came back to Chicago and asked that since the NIC had blocked the pamphlet's production, 1000 copies be mimeographed for distribution at the NC, so the NC could decide the matter. Klonsky refused.

"Now Klonsky claims the NIC never had any political objections to the pamphlet, but only wanted to see it was circulated to relevant people. That is, he and Bernadine supposedly never said all the things about the pamphlet which I, and others in the office and print shop, heard them say.

"They have continually used baiting and manipulation to attack pro-working class ideas. They have sought in the office to physically intimidate and shout down anyone who threatened their own hegemony over SDS.

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"Thus an excellent print-shop worker, who had developed worker-student alliance politics, was fired by Klonsky as a PL-agent who was trying to sabotage the press. While I was on the road, other people in the office tried to produce the pamphlet (until this was stopped altogether). Klonsky and the national collective people in the office did everything to force these people to quit, heaping obscenities on them, accusing them of being sluts and agents of PL, cops, incompetent idiots, etc. At another point, Klonsky mentioned he'd just rejected a pamphlet on high school organizing. Asked whether he felt it necessary to show the pamphlet to me, Klonsky replied, "I wouldn't show you shit!"

"So first they tried to bury the work-in pamphlet and intimidate myself and several office workers into silence. Now that this has failed, and many people are angry, they are trying to cover up the entire issue by claiming it is only a formal problem, that they had nothing against the pamphlet, etc. This won't do. The work-in pamphlet incident is just one of many examples of the national collective's attempt to suppress these views. That attempt must be brought out into the open, and ended.

Fred Gordon

SDS Internal Education Secretary
Dec. 10, 1968"

KLONSKY then spoke to those assembled at this Plenary Session and stated that GORDON has not, since his election as an SDS National Officer, submitted one single piece of educational literature until this "Work-In" pamphlet. KLONSKY stated that GORDON tried to "sneak" this pamphlet by the SDS National Office by not allowing for critical discussion. KLONSKY added that he first gained knowledge of the pamphlet when he saw the type already set for the pamphlet and at that time he nor BERNARDINE DOHRN, had absolutely no previous knowledge about it.

KLONSKY further stated that he lost his temper and probably said some things that he should not have and then proceeded to criticize GORDON for not having the articles signed and endeavoring to pass the "Work-In" pamphlet as SDS policy. KLONSKY said that some censorship is necessary and if refusing to allow the pamphlet to be printed because it was not first discussed critically, that GORDON had endeavored to "sneak" it by the SDS National Office staff, then this is political

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censorship and he is guilty but censorship of this nature is necessary.

KLONSKY continued his remarks by stating that everything now seems to be seen as two distinct factions - one faction being the PLP and the rest of SDS. KLONSKY said that debate on ideological issues is good, but factional antagonism could only lead to the complete destruction of SDS. He suggested that at the forthcoming June, 1969, SDS National Convention, the people who favor worker-student alliance politics should put forth more candidates for the National Interim Committee (NIC) and not let national officers be elected without opposition.

BERNARDINE DOHRN spoke next and she supported KLONSKY and criticized FRED GORDON as being lax in his duties as SDS National Education Secretary. She further criticized his literature program in particular and stated that although SDS does have an excellent literature program, it is not the result of any efforts on the part of GORDON.

DOHRN also agreed with KLONSKY in the analysis of the "Work-In Controversy", and said she has heard a lot of lies about a SDS National Office collective and political suppression.

After the three SDS National Secretaries gave their views concerning the "Work-In Pamphlet", a two hour discussion then ensued.

During this discussion, DOHRN presented a counter-proposal stating that 15,000 copies of the pamphlet be printed and a sentence be incorporated which would state that this pamphlet represented a significant position in SDS. According to source, this sentence would in effect mean that this pamphlet was not the policy of SDS, and that it also precluded the censorship of the SDS National Office regarding "political suppression". It further meant that FRED GORDON's proposal which included the point that "New Left Notes" be open to articles critical of Cuba.

Source advised that after discussion and debate, a vote was taken on the above proposals. The vote was in favor of DOHRN's proposal and was carried by approximately three votes.

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The PLP faction then moved for a roll call vote and TIM MC CARTHY moved that this not happen due to a shortage of time needed to discuss other important matters on the agenda. This move, on the part of MC CARTHY, brought out a loud and lengthy discussion on whether a roll call vote was in order.

JEFF GORDON, a PLP member, stated that if six delegates wanted a roll call vote, the SDS Constitution states that one is in order. As a result, MC CARTHY reluctantly decided in favor of a roll call vote. Chapters and first names of voting delegates were read aloud in order to protect against security problems.


As a result of the roll call vote, the final vote was approximately 86 to 83 in favor of the Dohrn Proposal, which was strongly supported by MIKE KLONSKY and the other NIC members. Upon the completion of the voting, there was loud cheering from those in attendance.

According to source, due to the lack of time, no other business matters on the previously approved agenda were considered. However, first source advised this SDS NC Plenary Session did take in consideration a proposal with respect to fund raising. It was indicated that funds were needed to pay for damages that had occurred during the course of this meeting. MARGE HALL made this proposal and stated that a mimeograph machine was broken and other property was destroyed, and as a result, SDS would need ILL about \$2,000.00 in order to break even.

CHIP MARSHALL, NIC member, opened the fund raising appeal by writing a check for \$30.00 and SDS chapters present were urged to donate. During the course of this fund raising appeal, MIKE KLONSKY auctioned off his red T-shirt which had a picture of Lenin on the back and received \$15.00 for the shirt.

Upon completion of the fund raising efforts, the SDS NC meeting adjourned at 11:05 p.m.

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A meeting of the National Interim Council (NIC) of SDS was held following the NC meeting from approximately 4:00 to 11:00 PM, January 1, 1969, at Centerbury House, Ann Arbor, Michigan. The main item on the agenda was that of the necessity of continuing military research and of researching ways the Reserve Officers Training Corps (ROTC) could be forced off college campuses. Details were avoided; however, it was decided that this item should receive additional attention, with plans of action to be set by the next NIC.

The approximately 50 persons attending discussed the amount of vandalism and damage done to the University of Michigan (U of M) building utilized by the NC meeting of SDS. Attendance at the NC was estimated at between 900 and 1,000 members, with 168 delegates from between 300-400 chapters. Protracted discussion regarding organizing among General Issues was held, with the purpose of gaining the strength necessary among dissident troops to force a cutback in troops being sent to Vietnam and to ensure that national guard forces called in to back up police in civil disorders will not move against demonstrators. In addition it was noted that proper organizing among GIs would help facilitate a big march on Washington for the summer or next fall if the war in Vietnam has not been concluded. They stated that if the bombing of North Vietnam is resumed, SDS would demand that the government desist from it, and if compliance is not forthcoming in ten days, disruption would be commenced all over the country. This disruption would take place on college campuses.

The meeting was a constant hassle between the KLONSKY-DOHRN people and FRED GORDON's faction, with charges and counter allegations being leveled on almost every issue. The question of security of meetings was discussed with the points being that future meetings would require closer and tighter security to prevent the theft of meeting materials and personal property. In addition, it was felt that holding meetings in off-campus private facilities would make easier the task of controlling the infiltration by police and federal agencies. It was pointed out the colleges are becoming a lot less friendly and damage to property and bad publicity have caused many to deny SDS use of campus facilities.

Since insufficient time was left to the NC plenary session to take up the Cuba week proposal, it was considered and passed by the NIC to send congratulations to the Cuban government on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the people's revolt and to disseminate propaganda both internally and outside SDS regarding Cuba.

Discussion was held regarding the necessity of more organizing at the high schools to ensure future college radical support. Regarding the Washington, D.C., demonstration, it was decided that SDS will not go to Washington officially as an organization; however, it was generally understood that all intend to go, although not under the SDS name. It was announced that plans for action centers and demonstration details would be left to the Washington D.C., groups and the NMC who are organizing for this.

The decision was reached that the next NIC meeting would be held in February somewhere in the middle west and that the next national convention would be held in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, or Houston, Texas, depending on whether accommodations could be worked out. The question of security was raised again and a girl who is a reporter for "The Michigan Daily," the student newspaper at U of M, was asked to leave since reporters would not be allowed at NIC meetings.

They repeatedly referred to the fact that they would discuss the "Boston question" later, and this probably refers to the fact that Boston area individuals had the pamphlet "work-in" published after the KLONSKY-DOHRN faction at SDS headquarters refused to have it printed. The GORDON faction evidently wanted it published but the opposing members of the national office staff would not approve it.

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The "NLN" issue of January 8, 1969, on page six contained an article captioned "NIC Passed Cuba Week." This article reads in part as follows:

"Jan. 1, 1969--Ann Arbor, Mich. Present--Klonsky, Dohrn, Gordon, Spiegel, Marshall, Jones, Haile, James. Absent--Oglesby, Spector, Mann.

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"The NIC passed the Solidarity with Cuba Week resolution, which did not reach the NC floor because of lack of time. Discussion centered around education about Cuba, socialism, and communism, and how to combat anti-communism in the organization. Some discussed the difference between internal and external education, feeling that internal education should be more critical of Cuba. There was general agreement that education around a topic such as Cuba should be analytical as well as supportive of their revolution.

"A telegram of solidarity with the Revolution was sent to the Central Committee of the Cuban Party."

"The Military Package paper handed out at the NC was presented to the NIC by Tom Hurwitz, Columbia. The NIC mandated that the paper be printed in NLN. The authors asked for discussion, not action, by the NIC. It was agreed that if the program is to be implemented it would have to come from the chapter level up. Discussion of the paper focused on GIs, high schools, and national liberation struggles. An offensive against ROTC on campuses and all military recruiting could be a prime issue. ILL

"An evaluative discussion of the internal education portion of the NC raised the problem of trying to carry on education in workshops. It was felt that the workshops, as organized at this NC, had not been conducive to good interchange, and should be more efficiently run next time. Many folks felt that the panels had a tendency to be used for facional debate rather than for resource material.

"It was agreed that in terms of internal education around proposals passed, the NO should seek position papers on the Youth Movement, Racism, and Women's Liberation resolutions.

"In order to provide a formal process for literature production, the following was proposed and unanimously passed: That a proposed pamphlet get circulated to people decided upon by the three national secretaries, and that five copies be sent to each NIC member for distribution. That a time limit of two weeks be set for responses to the pamphlet. The final edited copy of the literature should be sent to the NIC for approval/disapproval; if many NIC members have objections to

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the pamphlet, it will be held until the next NIC meeting (which is every month) for decision as to printing.

"In case of emergency, such as during the election campaign program, a pamphlet can be printed with the unanimous agreement of all three national secretaries.

"Security regarding transcripts of meetings-written as well as taped-was discussed. People should be reminded that notes and tapes can easily be used by the man.

"It was decided to place high school organizing high on the agenda for the next NIC."

An announcement was made at an SDS chapter meeting in Boulder, Colorado, on December 16, 1968, that the following five individuals would be in Cuba for approximately one month as SDS delegates to the tenth anniversary of the Cuban Revolution:

BRUCE GOLDBERG, Boulder, Colorado
CARL OGLESBY, New York City
CARL DAVIDSON, New York City
RUSS NEUFELD, New England
JOHN JOHNSON, New York City

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Source made available a copy of a leaflet which was mailed from the SDS National Office. This leaflet read in part as follows:

SDS announces a Week of Solidarity with the Cuban People -- Jan. 1 through January 10.

We salute and support their struggle for socialism since their revolution ten years ago.

Plan to have speakers, films and literature on Cuba and on American imperialist activities in Latin America during the first week in January. The national office will have special lit on Cuba and will be coordinating speakers who have been on past Cuba trips. PLAN NOW FOR ACTIONS ABOUT CUBA AND AMERICAN IMPERIALISM ON YOUR CAMPUS!

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**B: Proposed SDS Programs and Policies as
Set Forth in Writings of SDS Leaders**

The "NLN", issue of October 18, 1968, on page one, contained an article captioned: "No Class, No Ruling Class Tomorrow," which was written by BERNARDINE/DOHRN. This article reads in part as follows:

"At some points in history, we have a choice--a choice of style, direction, possibilities. Now, in these few months, SDS can either react out of the politics of containment--to hold in and hold on--or aggressively build a radical left movement. The choice is not made in a single decisive gesture, but in several months we will be able to look back and evaluate our cumulative response. The Boulder and Boulder election program demands that we immediately involve thousands in SDS programs of agitation, education and action around the elections.

"The national media coverage, the strength of the actions at Columbia and Chicago, and the accelerating polarization of society which requires interpretation--all offer us the possibility of recognizing and acting on the strength of the movement to reach out on campus and beyond campus. We have through the elections, a natural way of talking to people about power--to build up actions over the coming weeks--to press on the urgency --to create forums for SDS politics and the alternatives to submission. SDS chapters everywhere have been flooded with new people, some joining, some looking for answers to the hard questions, some just listening. At too many chapters, the response to the possibility of becoming a mass movement has been to retract, to 'consolidate' first, to hassle through factionalism for control of the chapter, to set up forms (constitutions, meetings), to possess the Left and the chapter, to continue the style and language of talking to each

other, to fear an SDS chapter with membership of McCarthy supporters (people who are not yet anti-capitalist revolutionaries), to vigilantly preserve the purity of our form. This 'property' response toward SDS is death. When we are in motion (struggle) we MUST afford to keep pushing out the edges--to include larger numbers of people in actions, planning and ideological struggle. Large chapters can break into political brigades (RAPS, affinity groups) around power structure research, agitprop (wall newspapers, guerrilla theatre) high schools, labor, campus issues, study. An immediate focus for all work is the elections.

"The elections program is not competitive with ongoing campus organizing. The elections are another institution, like schools, the army, the draft, which present the illusion of power, choice, potency. They are, in fact, another pacifying institution. Agitation and program around election time allows us to continue campus work with an added dimension.

"The STRIKE is not an ultimatum to local SDS chapters--it is an opportunity to build toward an action which fits local needs and will be multiplied by the strength of national and regional coordination.

"Because the STRIKE, the regional demonstrations, and GI Week are national actions, they reinforce and multiply the effect of every local activity. Local work need not mean insular work. Every STRIKE action will be part of a broader political statement which reaches deeper into campuses and consciously reaches beyond campus. We must take seriously the potential --and necessity--of students to identify their own real interests in terms of the national and international liberation movements..

"SDS' election program bridges the gap between national mobilizations and chapter work; coordinated

actions, and propaganda on a regional level can offer cross-fertilization that will stimulate future chapter work and regional use of resources (newspapers, research, defense, staff). Election time is a national and international focus; it is a gauge for intensified activity. To act boldly now is to take advantage of this historical period to broaden and strengthen the movement. The stakes are up. SDS must involve people in actions which expose their own concrete roles in American institutions and reveal their possibilities as agents of radical change. Around the urgency, fear and anger of elections we must demand that a commitment to struggle is a necessity, not a luxury."

The "NLN" issue of October 25, 1968, on page 3, contained an article captioned: "Can't Get No Satisfaction." This article reads as follows:

"(This is the text of the short version of the SDS call for action around election day. Copies are available in bulk from the SDS National Office. Comments are welcome; let us know the response of people in your area to the call.)

"The November elections are a hoax! Why? Because they are putting forth the concept of a Democratic America, which is a false concept. It is clear that the money interests (the giant corporations, the military, the university) make the important decisions about people's lives. The major presidential candidates are always people who clearly represent the interests of those who control America.

"This year, more than ever before, the fraud that is called American elections is clear. There is no difference between Nixon, Humphrey, and Wallace. All three are clearly racists and warmakers using phrases like 'law and order' to try to divert attention from the real issues.

"These candidates will not and cannot do what must be done. We demand the withdrawal of troops from Vietnam and we support liberation struggles in Vietnam and other countries. We condemn the racism which divides our people and we support the right of black people to struggle for an end to their oppression and for their liberation by any means necessary. We demand that the police be disarmed.

"We cannot vote for what we demand in these elections, so we will vote with our feet.

"DEMONSTRATIONS

"SDS calls for large regional demonstrations on Election Day in the major cities across the country. In the past, important issues like the war in Vietnam and racism have only been raised as a result of the people's confrontation with the government. That confrontation is not possible in the voting booths. It is clear that the only way to stop politicians from using racist phrases like 'crime in the streets' while they avoid the issues is to continue our struggle. It is not our purpose to stop people from voting, but to provide a real means of political expression, to build the forces of our opposition.

"'NO CLASS TODAY--NO
RULING CLASS TOMORROW'

"On Monday and Tuesday, November 4-5, SDS calls for a national student strike. High schools and universities are an intrinsic part of the American capitalist system which we are challenging. In the schools people are taught to accept and make possible a government which represses its people at home and puts down popular revolutions abroad. University research supports the war effort. Universities through their investments exploit and poor and working people in the United States and abroad.

"STRIKE!!!!!!

"Strikes may range from a boycott of classes to a takeover of buildings. We should begin to prepare for Monday and Tuesday with campus election polls, teach-ins, open discussions, and small agitational actions in the weeks before. Teachers should be forced to turn their classroom time to a discussion of the elections. On Monday, actions should be designed to involve striking students; on Tuesday, students should be encouraged to join the Election Day demonstration. ..

"THE PEOPLE'S ELECTION

"We must reach out past the high schools and colleges to the working people of America. In the weeks before the elections, we should leaflet communities and places of work, speak to trade schools and community colleges, and hold meetings and rallies open to the public at large.

"NATIONAL GI WEEK

"The U.S. government, not GIs, must be held responsible for this war. The warmaker is not a friend of the soldier. For the week preceding the elections we should try to reach out to GIs throughout the city, at bus and train stations, even at the bases. Where possible we should demonstrate our support for them, for the rights as human beings they are denied while in the service. Supporting GIs must mean fighting to end the war and getting the men out of Vietnam and out of the army.

"VOTE IN THE STREETS

"While the Vietnamese are struggling to free their country from the grip of U.S. imperialism and blacks are fighting for liberation here at home and GIs are carrying on a struggle inside the military, we must go to the streets on Election Day. We must make our voices heard."

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The "NLN" issue of October 25, 1968, on page 3, contained an article captioned: "Fighting Movement Develops." This article, which was written by MIKE KLONSKY, reads in part as follows:

"I have been traveling since the Boulder NC, in California and Michigan, and have been trying to stay on top of regional development around the election program and GI Week.

"Although the short time span from the NC to Election Day has put lots of pressure and severe limitations on us generally the work which is being done is encouraging.

"It is clear now that a national action around a specific set of issues like those arising from the election, can build motion that has the capacity to pull our organization together on a regional and national level.

"The election program has presented organizers with a chance to rap to people on the campuses about the questions which presently face the student movement--the need to develop class-consciousness by hooking up with the struggles of other potentially insurgent forces, electoral politics as an avenue to power in America, how to deal with reactionary student power and the anti-human role of the university.

"This whole concept of not only moving the campus struggle into the community, but moving the community onto the campus which oppresses it, is very important. The age of the 'outside agitator' is over. The university reaches its tentacles into every community in the world and must be seen as an enemy of the people.

"GI Week

"Suffering from the surge of energy around elections, has been GI Week. Only a few places

are planning to have any kind of actions during the week (Nov. 1-5) because they are all wrapped up in elections. In a way, this seems rather foolish since those same GIs and Guardsmen will probably be the ones who are called on to repress the nation-wide actions against the election fraud. These are just young, mostly working-class guys, as turned off to the war and the false myth of American democracy as anyone else.

"The coming street demonstrations (Nov. 5) should provide the area for young working-class people to come together with students and drop-out youth in common struggle, as was done in Chicago during the convention.

"Another thing that the national program seems to be accomplishing is the developing of a national collective. I first felt it after the NC, at a planning meeting on the steps outside the memorial center. The Boulder and Boulder proposal had just been passed and everyone talked about what was necessary to pull it off. Local organizers volunteered to help out the NO for three weeks, money was promised, who would go where was decided, people knew what had to be done and did it. This spirit has carried through up to now indicating that we are no longer an amorphous group of small chapters, each one 'doing their thing' but a rapidly growing organization prepared to deal with power in a real way.

"Regional Collectives

"This national collective I'm talking about is not a cadre being turned out of the National Office. Rather it is a collective sense developing at the regional level, building strong regional organizations responsible to each other and making the NO useful to their work. We have been turning out propaganda and agitational stuff around the elections by the hundreds.

of thousands of pieces. When the regions are pushing, it is hard to keep up, but we will if we get help. We are well on our way to meeting the mandate of the June convention which called for the developing of strong regions. This is our developing 'national collective.'

"Finally, the election action is continuing a pattern of growth in the whole movement. That pattern can be seen by the development of, what has been termed 'a fighting movement.' At the various chapters I have visited the pattern is the same.

"The fear of repression should not slow us down but should make us ready ourselves by building an organized defense. The fear of alienating the other sectors should not slow us down but should make us build programs that are relevant to people's needs and that provide action through which people together can confront their real enemy, the ruling class."

The "NLN" issue of October 25, 1968, on page 2, contained an article captioned: "Behind the Fraud: Crumbling Capitalism". This article, which was written by FRED GORDON, reads in part as follows:

"What are we offered in the forthcoming elections? We are offered three candidates who refuse to speak to the overriding issue, the war in Vietnam. Nixon has come up with a brilliant proposal for peace. He says that the war is not just a military one but also a moral and psychological battle. The U.S. must push a stronger propaganda campaign and have the South Vietnamese army take over a larger share of the fighting. Nixon says that these moves should have been made long ago. Good idea, Dick! Does he think that nobody remembers Kennedy's and Johnson's talk about winning the 'hearts and minds' of the people? Does he think that we have forgotten Johnson's assurance that the war would be fought by 'Asian boys' and not by 'American boys'?

Does he think that people have forgotten the 'pacification program' (herding people into concentration camps)? Nixon offers nothing but the same programs and the same lies as Johnson. The difference is that at this point, with Vietnam winning, they become ludicrous absurdities and are seen as such.

"U.S. Aggressor

"The facts remain: the 'pacification program' failed because Vietnam refused to be pacified by an imperialist aggressor. Psychological warfare failed because 'psychology' cannot transform the reality of murder. And the South Vietnamese army can't win because it is a mercenary army of a puppet government of exploitative landlords and adventurist generals. So much for Nixon. What about Humphrey?

"Humphrey's foreign policy statements center around two themes. One is that he would, in some vague sense, be better than Nixon. The other is that he would call a bombing halt if the North Vietnamese would de-escalate. 'Brilliant proposals!' The first says nothing. The second actually offers less than Johnson. Johnson at least SAID that he'd stop the bombing (and lied). Humphrey said that he'd stop the bombing if... Yet Humphrey's statement is touted by the press as a dramatic break from Johnson's war policies. The facts remain as always: the U.S. is the aggressor in Vietnam. There is just one 'deal' that the Vietnamese can accept--unconditional withdrawal.

"The war increases the conflict between the ruling class and the exploited. The 'war on poverty' has been butchered and the cities continue to decay. There will be more black rebellions. The universities, which service corporate America with manpower and weapons research, will be the scene of more battles and occupations. And workers' discontent will rise as wages

become frozen (in fact, real wages have fallen slightly during the past two years).

"Enter Wallace/LeMay"

"Into this scene of domestic decay enters George Wallace. Internationally, he offers Curtis 'Bomb them. Back to the Stone Age' LeMay. A long-standing enemy of labor, Wallace plays on the white working class's job insecurity to get the racist vote. He speaks of people's power while in Alabama he has been the pawn of local capitalists. But Wallace does speak to people's anxiety about the decay of the system. Wallace would create a police state. Rising racial violence would become race war and apartheid. What lies around the corner is fascism, but are the other candidates so different?

"Internal Decay"

"That is why none of the candidates are talking realistically about peace. As the war continues, the U.S. will continue to decay internally. If the war continues, America MUST move toward a police state. The politicians will try to win the support of the majority of the people by talk about patriotism. The ruling class will also try to neutralize the discontent of the American people by turning one segment of the population against others: workers against students, blacks against whites. Racism has been repeatedly used by the government to deflect the revolutionary discontent of the people. Instead of joining in common struggle against the state, political energy is dispersed in race warfare. The majority group calls upon the state to defend it against minority violence, and so the state is strengthened by increasing the police and gaining the dependence of the majority. This is the spectre that we face in the talk of 'law and order'.

"American imperialism is bringing about the decay of the society at home. As this process continues, people will have a choice--to move to the Left or to the Right. The Left is in the interests of all the people against the state. The Right is in the interests of the state only--it is a last-ditch stand to ward off revolution and allow American capitalism to rape the world. We cannot vote. The disaster toward which we move is not in the candidates, but in the nature of the system itself. The system must move to the Right. Vote against the elections! Vote with your feet!"

The "NLN" issue of December 4, 1968, on page 8, contained an article captioned: "Cuba, Si." This article reads as follows:

"January 1 marks the 10th anniversary of the victory of the Cuban Revolution. In solidarity with that struggle, and with the ten years of struggle there to build a socialist society, SDS plans a week of programs to explain and learn about Cuba today, through literature, films, and speakers--and to attack and expose the agencies of US imperialism in all of Latin America.

"Cuban film festivals will have been organized to travel in seven different regions, accompanied by people who have been to Cuba during the past year. These films and speakers can be used in high schools, classrooms, rallies, coffee houses. Regional people will be scheduling the caravan; contact the NO.

"Literature on the history of the revolution and major addresses of Fidel and Che are being reprinted, on Man and Socialism, internationalism, abolishing a money economy, and the role of students. Pamphlets on US interests in Cuba and investments in Latin America will help to make clear the political history leading

to the US economic blockade of Cuba and US economic and military penetration of Guatemala, Mexico, Bolivia, etc.

"An SDS delegation of five will be at the festivities in Havana, and will be available for speaking on their return.

"Cuba Week is an occasion for talking about the revolutionary principles being fought for daily in Cuba: a classless society, planning for people's needs, liberation from need and exploitative labor, a society which serves the people. This is not to import wholesale a socialist pattern. It is an opportunity for talking about the real struggle of building socialism after the revolution. It requires an understanding of anti-communism in America. And it is a case study in US imperialism in this hemisphere."

The "NLN" issue of December 11, 1968, on page 6, contained an article captioned: "N.O. News - NIC Sets Literature Procedure." This article reads as follows:

"by Mike Klonsky
"SDS National Secretary

"A question of great importance has arisen in the National Office concerning the production of literature for the organization. The question arose over a proposed pamphlet on the Work-In. Since this was the first pamphlet brought forth by Education Secretary Fred Gordon all year, the question of how a piece of literature is produced hasn't come up yet since I've been in the NO.

"Unsigned Articles

"The problem with the production of the Work-In pamphlet, a collection of personal experiences put together by people in the summer work-in projects,

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was that articles in it were unsigned, that is, the writers of the articles were not known to the national secretaries or anyone on the staff; the pamphlet was not sent around to the REAC (Radical Education Administrative Committee), which is interpreted now by the NIC to mean people involved in the kind of work discussed in the lit as well as people who have volunteered for the committee.

"When Bernardine Dohrn and I asked 'Who wrote the pamphlet?' we were told that it was written by people in the work-in. When we asked their names, we were told that Fred Gordon had forgotten. When we asked if the pamphlet would be circulated for criticism and comments before being printed, we were told that it wasn't necessary. In the introduction to the pamphlet, there was a paragraph explaining that if the writers of the pamphlet signed their articles they might not be able to get their jobs back next summer or hold the ones they presently had. While this might be considered a reasonable explanation as to why the names shouldn't go on the articles, it was certainly not a good reason for officers of the organization not to know who wrote them, especially if the articles were to be published as SDS literature, under the title of 'Towards a Student-Worker Alliance'.

"A NIC decision was asked for (the NIC being the next highest body able to make decisions about organizational policy). The position Bernardine and I presented to the NIC was this:

"While we think the pamphlet is pretty good and see the need for literature to be put out on the work-in, we feel that all literature not mandated by the NIC or NC around a program like the Cuba Week should be sent around for criticism and comments. It should either be signed so that the people who wrote it will have to stand behind their politics,

or at least the authors should be known to the national officers. We said also that Fred Gordon's position that 'no changes or criticisms would be allowed' was wrong.

"NIC Polled

"All eight NIC members were polled and they reached a unanimous decision:

"1) The pamphlet should not be produced unless Bernardine and myself knew the names of the people who wrote it.

"2) The pamphlet should not be printed until it is circulated for criticism and comments to people around the country who worked in the work-in program and to other people working extensively on literature production.

"The next day, the names of the authors of the pamphlet were made known to Bernardine and me. The NO staff agreed to mimeo the pamphlet for distribution to various people around the country for comment and criticism and then print the pamphlet. That is presently being done.

"The importance of this decision should not be overlooked. The question should arise at the Ann Arbor NC. How should literature be produced? Why haven't we produced any relevant (or for that matter, irrelevant) literature since June? What principles must our educational material meet? Should an established REAC be constituted?

"Internal education is our weakest area organizationally. We must develop ways to reach our people if we are going to struggle together."

The "NLN" issue of January 8, 1969, on page 2, contained an article captioned: "Jeff Writes Us: 'Jail is a Bumner.'" This article was in the form of a letter from JEFF SEGAL and reads in part as follows:

"Dear comrades,

"I would have enjoyed being with you but, unfortunately, other commitments continue to be overly demanding, and I must remain where I am. Greetings from the bottom of the swamp!

"The foremost thing that comes to mind is that jail is a hummer!! I have seen a couple of articles in papers written by dudes who have done time saying that doing time isn't really too bad, that the food is better than college food, etc., which have really pissed a bunch of us off. For people to say that is irresponsible; both penitentiary and jail time is a very bad scene which, I believe, should be avoided if at all possible. This doesn't mean not doing things that could mean jail time, but it means trying to do them without getting caught. It also means that when we go to jail it is because of a commitment to build a revolutionary movement, and not just to make our 'personal sacrifice' for the cause and then continue a straight middle-class life. This kind of understanding has been an important tool in the struggle to turn the jail sentence into something more than dead time. What, then, has the time so far been, if not dead time?

"Personally, because of the controlled nature of the environment, it has given me a chance to get a much better understanding of what I'm about, how I fit into my physical and social life-flux, what capabilities and limits I have, etc. This has produced both a much firmer commitment to and a better understanding of the building of a movement to make a revolutionary society. Far from being mellowed by this experience,

I have become more intent upon doing what must be done to liberate ourselves and our brothers and sisters. What the time has done is to sear away the fatty elements of bourgeois sentimentality and leave me tougher and more able to deal with some of the difficult tasks we have before us.

"Politically, the time has forced me to clarify my own thinking about both strategy and analysis as well as tactics--to think of longer and longer periods of time (building of long-term strategy which I'll write some of later) instead of just day-to-day and month-to-month happenings. It has led to a completion of an ideology. Oh, forgot, for SDS ideology is a bad head trip. Not so!! If we understand what ideology is. Ideology, simply, is the development of a set of concepts that provides us with an organized way of viewing the world and our part in the world. A complete ideology gives us the ability to handle most experiences and events; and a reasonable one conforms to objective reality. The difference between ideology and dogma is that ideology is a tool to be used for the understanding of things (a tool which can and should be modified with the change of living conditions) and dogma are strictures taken on faith in which things are crammed to fit. I think we must develop an ideology--this means hard intellectual work without being afraid to use complex concepts and intellectual tools. The other side of this process has been the necessity to break down our crazy jargon and politics so that street people can understand what we're about. I have found this to be very important--because there have been lots of people I have been in contact with who are becoming part of our movement as the result of our ability to rap with them in the language they understand. I purposely haven't dealt with contents of ideology to avoid being embroiled in the temporary politics of the NC, but will write later.

"Also, there has been the learning of how to work (a) inside an overt police state, and (b) with non-student population we should be in to. Prison is a clear analogy of a police state, with all of a police state's major characteristics, and the experience has been helpful in teaching me how to work in the future American reality. Little else can be or should be said in public.

"There are in the joints I've been in a lot of fine groovy people who have been my fellow criminals. It has meant the building of a deep inside understanding that a large amount of what the society classifies as criminal behavior comes out of the same basic impulses that have made us what we are. A lot of the guys are people who have rebelled against Plastic Capitalist America, but who did not have access to the channels of 'dissent' that we did. We have a lot of potential brothers and sisters in the half-million behind bars and the tens of millions on the street. Our job is to reach them and to turn them on to the ways to struggle that does not just take back a little of what has been stolen from the people, but destroys the system that makes the exploitation and replaces it with a liberated society.

"Sorry if I might have run off at the mouth, but there is little enough contact with all of you, and the chances I receive take on a very important place in my life. I have heard from a lot of you through cards and letters, and the feeling of still being able to be of some use has been greatly morale boosting. NCs being what NCs always are, I hope this letter has at least given you all a couple of minutes' relief from its endemic insanity."

The "NLN" issue of January 15, 1969, on page 3, contained an article captioned: "HUAC Announces Attack on SDS." This article, written by BERNARDINE DOHRN, reads as follows:

"The youngest HUAC chairman ever, Rep. Richard H. Ichord (D. Mo.), 42, announced Monday that SDS will be the first order of business this year. '...in view of the information that has been made public of the increasingly militant nature of the SDS--its conducting classes in sabotage, how to make molotov cocktails, and its teaching violent guerrilla tactics.' The investigation of SDS will follow the abortive hearings on Chicago held during October and December. During those hearings, Tom Hayden was generally taken as representing SDS. The new announcement suggests that Ichord has staked out his own key role for the new Law and Order administration, relying largely on the end of the year FBI reports on SDS. In addition, HUAC has been compiling dossiers and 'evidence' against the organization during the past year.

"Although his announcement did not specify open hearings, Ichord did state his intention to seek new laws on behavior in the hearing room. He also mentioned his intention to call fewer 'disruptive' witnesses (Rubin, Hoffman).

"Timed with this announcement was the nationally syndicated Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson story of a nation-wide communist conspiracy behind the black student revolts at Brandeis, Swarthmore, Pembroke, etc."

The "NLN" issue of January 15, 1969, on page 5, contained an article captioned: "Venceremos." This article reads as follows:

"This resolution was written for the December NC, but lack of time prevented its presentation. A NIC meeting, held after the NC, passed it.

"January 1969 marks the 10th anniversary of the victory of the Cuban revolution. In solidarity with that defeat of U.S. imperialism and with the ten years

of struggle by the Cuban people to build a revolutionary socialist society, SDS calls for a Cuba Week of education and actions.

"SDS will focus on the Cuban struggles during this time, as a beginning of continuing programs which will carry these issues to all of our organizing.

"1) To learn and explain about the Cuban victory as a part of the international struggle between U.S. imperialism and the oppressed people of the world.

"2) To direct attention and programs to U.S. imperialism in Latin America. Although we say imperialism is a system and the war in Vietnam is but one manifestation of that system, our understanding and programs on imperialism have largely been limited to Vietnam. Cuba is a case study of imperialism in this hemisphere.

"3) To educate about the revolutionary principles underlying a socialist society: planning for people's needs, abolition of a money economy, moral incentives, the relationship between manual and mental labor, the development of the New Man. Cuba Week provides the context for rapping about the real struggles being fought for daily since the revolution; it confronts racism and anti-communism; it requires an understanding of communist principles.

"SDS will educate and agitate with programs:

"a) distributing pamphlets, literature, posters, Tricontinentals, and Granmas;

"b) presenting Cuban film festivals and speakers who have traveled to Cuba;

"c) attacking agencies of U.S. imperialism in Latin America, such as Latin American Institutes, counterinsurgency research centers, sugar exchanges, United Fruit, etc.

"Venceremos!"

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ELS:ejh

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IV. COMMUNIST PARTY, USA (CP, USA)
AND/OR SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
(SWP) INTEREST IN THE SDS

A. CP, USA

b1

(c)

b1

b7D

b1

(c)

b1

b1

b7D

b1

b7D

(c)

b1
b7D

(c)

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5

[REDACTED] b1 b7D (c)

b1

[REDACTED]

b7D

B. SWP

[REDACTED] b1 b7D (c)

b1

[REDACTED]

b7D

The YSA National Convention was held in Chicago, Illinois on November 28, through December 1, 1968.

During the session held on November 29, 1968, the scheduled topic was "Discussion on Report and Resolution: The '68 Campaign and Beyond... Socialist Youth Politics in America" was held; however, most of the time was devoted to criticizing the SDS. It was stated that the SDS was unorganized and took on multiple issues.

It was also stated during the course of this discussion this data by LARRY SIEGAL that the SDS is made up of many new radicals, but the SDS is a victim of lack of theoretical foundations for its activities. SIEGAL added that as a result, SDS fails to provide leadership and ends up following the leadership groups.

SIEGAL further stated that the YSA will collaborate with SDS in activities but opposes the concept that SDS is "The Movement".

[REDACTED] b1 b7D

**V. BACKGROUND INFORMATION CONCERNING
INDIVIDUALS PREVIOUSLY MENTIONED
IN THIS REPORT**

CATHY ARCHIBALD

CATHY ARCHIBALD is presently associated with the SDS National Office.

b1 [REDACTED]

JERRY BADANES

The name of JEROME ARTHUR BADANES was included among a group of University of Michigan members of a university student organization, identified as a chapter of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) on the founding of that chapter in April, 1966.

b1 [REDACTED]

ARNOLD BECCHETTI

BECCHETTI is presently a member of the CP of Illinois State Board.

b1 [REDACTED]

BERNARDINE DOHRN

The "National Lawyers Guild Newsletter," Volume 13, #4, a self-described bi-monthly publication of the NLG, contained an article by BERNARDINE DOHRN, the NLG student organizer.

b1 [REDACTED]

LES COLEMAN

COLEMAN is presently a member of the SDS Chicago Regional Staff, and prior to this time was a member of the SDS National Office Staff.

b1 [REDACTED]

CARL DAVIDSON

DAVIDSON was the former SDS Inter-Organizational Secretary.

b1 [REDACTED]

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CARL DAVIDSON spoke at the assembly at the opening of the SDS national convention on the evening of June 9, 1968, at Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan. DAVIDSON spoke on the necessity of international cooperation and student revolutions and stated the main goal of SDS is the downfall of our present society.

b1 [REDACTED] b2

BOB DUGGAN

DUGGAN is presently a member of the CPUSA National Committee.

b1 [REDACTED] b2

JOHN DUNN

DUNN is presently employed on a full-time basis in the print shop at the SDS National Office.

b1 [REDACTED] b7

EARL DURHAM

DURHAM is presently a member of the CP of Illinois State Board and is also a member of the CPUSA National Committee.

b1 [REDACTED] b7

ROZ DURHAM

DURHAM is presently a member of the CP of Illinois and is the wife of EARL DURHAM (mentioned above).

b1 [REDACTED] b7

DAVID ENGLESTEIN

ENGLESTEIN is presently a member of the CP of Illinois State Board.

b1 [REDACTED] b7

DAN FRIEDLANDER

FRIEDLANDER is presently a member of the CP of Illinois.

b1 [REDACTED] b7

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BERNIE FARBER

[REDACTED] b1

[REDACTED] b1 b7D

KATHY FISCHER

FISCHER is presently a member of the PLP.

JEFF GORDON

The October-November, 1966, issue of "Progressive Labor," self-described as a bi-monthly PLP magazine, identified JEFFREY GORDON as the National Student Organizer for PLP.

BARTEE HAILE

HAILE was a SDS leader at Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas, and was also the Southwest Regional Organizer for SDS during May, 1968.

STEVE HALLIWELL

HALLIWELL recently travelled to Prague, Czechoslovakia, where he attended a conference with representatives from North Vietnam and the National Liberation Front.

HALLIWELL was the former Assistant National Secretary of SDS.

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DON HAMERQUIST

HAMERQUIST is presently a member of the CPUSA National Committee. b1 [REDACTED] 470

JOE HORTON

The "Florida Alligator," daily campus newspaper, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, in its issue dated February 20, 1968, carried on page one an article which stated that 20 members of SDS from throughout the United States, which included JOE HORTON, Chicago Region of SDS, were in Cuba as guests of the Cuban Government. This article further stated this group was in Cuba "to talk to representatives of North Korea and the National Liberation Front of North Vietnam" and "to spend some time in Cuba working in Cuban fields."

JOE HORTON is presently a staff member of the Chicago SDS Region. b1 [REDACTED]

MIKE JAMES

On March 25, 1967, a peace march and rally was held in Chicago sponsored by various peace and civil rights organizations. During the demonstrations, MIKE JAMES, who was introduced as a SDS leader, spoke and urged that draft eligible youths defy the draft and called for continued protests and sit-in demonstrations on every campus protesting the Vietnam war. JAMES added that the poor must be organized in opposition to the military-industrial complex. b1 [REDACTED] b...

[REDACTED] b1 [REDACTED] b7D
JAMES is presently a staff member of the Chicago SDS Region. b1 [REDACTED] b7D

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JEFF JONES

The "New York Post" dated November 17, 1967, contained an article which stated that JEFF JONES and three other members of SDS were photographed while boarding a jet plane on November 16, 1967, at Kennedy Airport for Paris, France. Their eventual destination was for North Vietnam by invitation.

As of January, 1968, JEFF JONES was the office manager of the New York Region SDS.

b1 [REDACTED]

CLARK KISSINGER

KISSINGER, National Secretary of SDS, in addressing the SDS National Conference on June 13, 1965, presented a program called "Kissinger's Project" or "Kissinger's Kamikaze."

In presenting this program, KISSINGER proposed SDS members deliberately violate the Espionage Act of 1917, certain provisions of the Smith Act of 1940, and specific sections of the Code of Military Justice, by entering United States military bases and passing out leaflets which would demoralize men in the Armed Forces and which would suggest that the members of the Armed Forces should desert and further adopt devious means of avoiding service and direct participation in the Vietnam war.

b1 [REDACTED]

KISSINGER was observed in attendance at the 18th National Convention of the CPUSA held in New York City in June, 1966.

b1 [REDACTED]

JACK KLING

KLING is presently a member of the CP of Illinois State Board and is also a member of the CPUSA National Committee.

b1 [REDACTED]

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MIKE KLONSKY

As of March, 1968, MIKE KLONSKY was a member of the Regional Staff of SDS in Los Angeles, California.

MIKE KLONSKY is the son of ROBERT KLONSKY.

b1 [REDACTED]

The October 19, 1967, edition of the "North Valley Mail," a weekly publication in Granada Hills, California, contained an article which reflected that ROBERT KLONSKY was arrested in 1953 by the FBI and charged with avocating the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence. KLONSKY was convicted of this charge but his conviction was later reversed by the Supreme Court. KLONSKY was the former Organizational Secretary of the CP in Eastern Pennsylvania.

ERIC MANN

MANN as of July, 1968, was the New England Regional SDS organizer and is anti-PLP.

b1 [REDACTED] b2

TIM MC CARTHY

MC CARTHY was the former Assistant National Secretary of SDS.

b1 [REDACTED] b7D

CARL OGLESBY

Source described OGLESBY as a "modern day Saul," completely and personally committed to the SDS program, enthusiastic in his work and the promotion of same. OGLESBY acknowledges he was surprised at being elected president of SDS and realized he was, in part, president in name only. He said he would be going to personally visit Saigon, Vietnam, etc., in the near future. His purpose for such a visit was not explained to source. OGLESBY reported that in the fall of 1965 he would address the United States Congress. He

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explained that while Congress was in session SDS would enter and he would make himself heard. He said he knew he would be arrested but that he would be heard by Congress.

b1 [REDACTED]

b7D

PETER PRAN

PRAN is one of the leaders of the SDS chapter located at the Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago.

b1 [REDACTED]

b7D

MARK RUDD

RUDD is the former Chairman of the Columbia University (CU) SDS Chapter located in New York City and played an active role in a leadership capacity during the CU demonstrations and strike.

b1 [REDACTED]

JEFF SEGAL

[REDACTED]

b1
p10

SEGAL was one of the main speakers at the May Day Rally celebration of the CP held in Chicago on May 1, 1966.

b1 [REDACTED]

b7

SEGAL who is presently incarcerated for violation of the draft laws, was the former National Draft Resistance Coordinator for SDS.

b1 [REDACTED]

b7

EARL SILBAR

SILBAR in recent months has indicated he is a member of the PLP.

b1 [REDACTED]

b

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MORGAN SPECTOR

Mr. M2
SPECTOR is the son of FRANK and ELIZABETH SPECTOR, who are members of the CP in Los Angeles, California.

b1 [REDACTED]

MIKE SPIEGEL

Prior to the SDS National Convention held during June, 1968, SPIEGEL was the SDS National Secretary.

b1 [REDACTED]

Tel.
PEGGY TERRY

As of May, 1960, TERRY was a member of the CP.

b1 [REDACTED]

CAROL TRAVIS

TRAVIS is presently a member of the CP of Illinois.

b1 [REDACTED]

DOUG YOUNGBLOOD

YOUNGBLOOD is the son of PEGGY TERRY. (TERRY - 16. previously mentioned above).

b1 [REDACTED]

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APPENDIX

**CHICAGO COMMITTEE TO DEFEND
THE BILL OF RIGHTS (CCDBR)**

The CCDBR maintains headquarters in Rooms 801-803,
431 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, Illinois.

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b1



b1



A third source advised on May 10, 1968, that the original stated purposes of the CCDBR continue to be adhered to, with CRILEY continuing as the motivating force behind the Committee. The Board of Directors, however, now includes many individuals in the religious, educational and labor fields who are not known as CP members.

APPENDIX

NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications" revised and published December 1, 1961, by the Committee on Un-American Activities, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., states as follows on page 121 concerning the National Lawyers Guild:

"1. Cited as a Communist front.

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities,
House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action
Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 149.)

"2. Cited as a Communist front which 'is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions' and which 'since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents.'

(Committee on Un-American Activities, House
Report 3123 on the National Lawyers Guild,
September 21, 1950, originally related
September 17, 1950.)

"3. 'To defend the cases of Communist lawbreakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself. Among these organizations are the * * * National Lawyers Guild. When the Communist Party itself is under fire these offer a bulwark of protection.'

(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate
Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans,
S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91.)"

APPENDIX

APPENDIXPROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

A source advised on April 20, 1965, that the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), formerly known as the Progressive Labor Movement (PLM), held its first national convention April 15-18, 1965, at New York, New York, to organize the PLM into a PLP. The PLP will have as its ultimate objective the establishment of a militant working class movement based on Marxism-Leninism.

The "New York Times" City Edition, Tuesday, April 20, 1965, page 27, reported that a new party of "revolutionary socialism" was formally founded on April 18, 1965, under the name of the PLP. The PLP was described as an outgrowth of the PLM. Its officers were identified as MILTON ROSEN, New York, President, and WILLIAM EPTON of New York and MORT SCHEER of San Francisco Vice Presidents. A 20-member National Committee was elected to direct the party until the next convention.

According to the article, "The Progressive Labor Movement was founded in 1962 by Mr. ROSEN and Mr. SCHEER after they were expelled from the Communist Party of the United States for assertedly following the Chinese Communist line."

The PLP publishes "Progressive Labor," a bi-monthly magazine, "Challenge," a monthly New York City newspaper, and "Spark," a West Coast newspaper.

The April, 1967, issue of "Challenge," page 14, states that. "This paper is dedicated to fight for a new way of life- where the working men and women own and control their homes, factories, the police, courts, and the entire government on every level."

A second source advised on September 26, 1966, that the PLP utilizes the address of General Post Office Box 808, Brooklyn 1, New York, but also utilizes an office in Room 617, 1 Union Square, West, New York City, where PLP publications are prepared.

APPENDIXSOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND,
INC. (SCEF); "THE SOUTHERN PATRIOT" (SP)

An article in the December, 1967, issue of "The Southern Patriot" (SP) commemorating the twentyfifth anniversary of the publication with that issue recites the following:

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare (SCHW) was organized in 1938; SP, starting in 1942, as the publication of SCHW, was taken over by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., (SCEF), in the late 1940s when SCHW went out of existence. SCEF, originally the "educational wing" of SCHW, continued as an independent organization. For almost two decades, concern of SCHW and SCEF was with racial segregation and oppression of black people. In 1964, SCEF recognized that the legal back of segregation had been broken and economic and political gains were necessary if Southern life was to change. In the past few years, SCEF has also supported battles for academic freedom and the Southern movement for world peace.

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare (SCHW) was cited as a communist front by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 592, June 12, 1947. In the same house report, "The Southern Patriot" was cited as an "organ" of the SCHW.

The September, 1967, issue of SP refers to SCEF as a "community of Organizers and Writers," stating its work is centered in organizing the poor in Appalachia for political and economic power, helping white people in the Deep South find a common cause with black people, helping local groups organize action for peace and working for abolition of the "House Un-American Activities Committee."

The Masthead of SP in its April, 1968, issue states "The Southern Conference is dedicated to ending racism, poverty, and other injustices in the South; it opposes war as an instrument of national policy."

Listed in the Masthead are SCEF officers consisting of eight executive committee members, four executive staff members headed by CARL and ANNE BRADEN, five office staff members and fourteen field staff members and two "Eastern Representatives."

SCEF (Continued)

Mrs. ALBERTA AHEARN, 2311 Payne Street, Louisville, Kentucky, a self-admitted former member of the Communist Party (CP), Louisville, Kentucky, testified on December 11 and 13, 1954, in Jefferson County, Kentucky Criminal Court, in a State sedition prosecution against CARL JAMES BRADEN. She identified CARL JAMES BRADEN and his wife, ANNE MC CARTY BRADEN, as having been known to her as members of the CP from January, 1951, to December, 1954.

A source advised on March 2, 1961, that CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, a Communist Party functionary, stated at a meeting of the Communist Party in Baltimore, Maryland, on February 25, 1961, that the Communist Party has some indirect influence in SCEF.

A second source, familiar with some phases of Communist Party activity in the New Orleans area, advised on June 3, 1966, that during the time that the SCHW was in existence, members of the Communist Party were members of and worked actively in the SCHW; however, since the formation of the SCEF, Communist Party members have not been encouraged to work in the SCEF. The source stated that the SCEF is a progressive, liberal organization because it has gone along with the Communist Party on certain issues, particularly on the racial issue.

A third source advised on May 25, 1965, that GEORGE MEYERS, a Communist Party functionary, expressed great admiration for CARL and ANNE BRADEN and SCEF, which they head. He said SCEF is the best organization in the South as far as doing effective work is concerned and that they have a better idea of what they are doing, where they are heading, and they influence other organizations for the better.

The second source also advised on June 3, 1966, that many people who are officials and supporters of the SCEF, while liberal in their views, are by no means communists.

The April, 1968, issue of SP states that the editorial and business offices of SCEF, publishers of SP, are at 3210 West Broadway, Louisville, Kentucky; office of publication, 150 Tenth Avenue, North Nashville, Tennessee; Eastern office, Suite 412, 799 Broadway, New York, New York.

APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anti-communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of July 24, 1968, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

APPENDIX

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia, is a nonmembership organization, which was born out of the sit-in movement that erupted across the South beginning in 1960.

Today SNCC identifies itself as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

According to SNCC the year 1967 marked a historic milestone in the struggle for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. SNCC declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus--the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realities of black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellions when oppression became too great."

From May, 1966, until May, 1967, Stokely Carmichael was National Chairman of SNCC. As of July, 1968, Carmichael resided in Washington, D. C., where he was affiliated with SNCC and active as temporary chairman of a black coalition group. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced by Hubert Geroid Brown, commonly known as H. Rap Brown, who served until June, 1968.

In June, 1968, at the Staff and Central Committee meeting of SNCC held in Atlanta, Georgia, it was decided to restructure the organization by equalization of responsibility by creating ten deputy or vice chairmanships. The primary purpose for this change is to take law enforcement pressure off any single individual.

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APPENDIX

W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA)

b1 [REDACTED]

b1 [REDACTED]

The second source advised in September, 1966, that MIKE ZAGARELL, CPUSA Youth Director, stated that in Negro communities the Party still supported the plan to build "left" socialist centers and to solidify the Party base through the DCA. This source also advised in September, 1966, that DANIEL RUBIN, CPUSA National Organizational Secretary, stated the Party believes the DCA should have a working-class outlook and be a mass organization favorable to socialism, socialist countries and Marxism, and in April, 1967, advised that GUS HALL, CPUSA General Secretary, indicated the DCA primary emphasis should be on developing mass resistance to the draft.

A third source advised in September, 1967, that JARVIS TYNER was elected chairman of the DCA on September 10, 1967, at the Third National Convention of the DCA held in New York, New York, from September 8-10, 1967.

A fourth source advised during August, 1967, that JARVIS TYNER is a member of the National Committee of the CPUSA.

A fifth source advised on September 21, 1967, that the headquarters of the DCA is located at 34 West 17th Street, New York, New York.

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

The May, 1960, issue of the "Young Socialist" (YS), page 1, column 3, disclosed that during April 15-17, 1960, a national organization entitled "The Young Socialist Alliance" (YSA) was established at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. This issue stated that this organization was formed by the nationwide supporter clubs of the publication YS.

The above issue, page 6, set forth the Founding Declaration of the YSA. This declaration stated that the YSA recognizes the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) as the only existing political leadership on class struggle principles of revolutionary socialism.

On March 10, 1967, a source advised that the YSA was formed during 1957, by youth of various left socialist tendencies, particularly members and followers of the SWP. The source further advised that the YSA has recently become more open about admitting that it is the youth group of the SWP and that an SWP representative has publicly stated that the YSA is the SWP's youth group.

The headquarters of the YSA are located in Rooms 532-536, 41 Union Square West, New York City.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

A characterization of "Young Socialist" is set out separately.

APPENDIX

"YOUNG SOCIALIST"

The "Young Socialist" is a magazine published five times a year by the Young Socialist Alliance. The October, 1964, edition, the initial edition utilizing the magazine format, relates that this magazine succeeds the "Young Socialist" newspaper in an effort to provide "more facts on more general issues than a small newspaper can."

The "Young Socialist" newspaper was formerly described as the official organ of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA).

The "Young Socialist" maintains office space at the headquarters of the YSA, Rooms 532-536, 41 Union Square, West, New York City, and has a mailing address of Post Office Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

A characterization of the YSA is set out separately.

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YOUNGBLOOD, DOUG-----7, 115

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Chicago, Illinois
February 7, 1969

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-40903

Title STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - C;
SEDITION

Reference Report of Special Agent [REDACTED] b7C
[REDACTED] at Chicago.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

100-439048-2552
CHANGED TO
100-439048-29-61x

MAR 3 1969

Lo/jdr

SAC, Chicago (100-40903)

2/17/69

Director, FBI (100-439048)

ag
STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
IS - SDS

Reurep dated 2/7/69.

Your attention is called to paragraph 2 on page 31 of referenced report wherein it was reported that by October 24, 1968, SDS National Headquarters in Chicago would have had installed a direct leasedline to all SDS chapters in the United States which would facilitate the SDS offices contacting SDS headquarters to report their final plans for "disruptive" activities arranged for November 4 and 5, 1968.

You are requested to promptly advise if this direct leasedline is still in effect or whether it was used only for the purposes noted above.

You are also referred to the last paragraph on page 34 of referenced report wherein it was stated that a coordinating newsletter for regional travelers of SDS was called for to help regional organizers and travelers to keep in touch with each other outside of "New Left Notes."

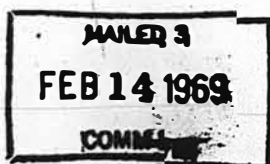
The Bureau has received no additional information concerning this newsletter and you are requested to advise if such a newsletter is in existence and if so each time a newsletter is put out a copy should be furnished the Bureau.

WNP:lvh
(4) *lvh*

REC-191
ST-106

100-427118

10 FEB 17 1969



FEB 24 1969

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

